

520

A True, Exact and Impartial  
**HISTORY**

Of the Horrid and Detestable

**Plots and Conspiracies,**

Contrived and carried on by Papists, and  
other wicked Persons, for the Compassing the  
Death and Destruction of his Sacred Majesty,

King *WILLIAM III.*

And introducing Popery and Slavery, by an In-  
vasion from *France*. With the manner how it  
was miraculously Discovered, when ripe to be  
put in Execution.

Also, an Account of the Tryals, Speeches,  
Confessions and Executions of those that have  
suffered for it; with their Characters, from  
the first of them to Sir *John Fenwick*, who  
was Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, on an Act of At-  
tainder; with the Paper he left behind him :  
And many other things worthy of particular  
Remark, for the Information of the present and  
future Ages.

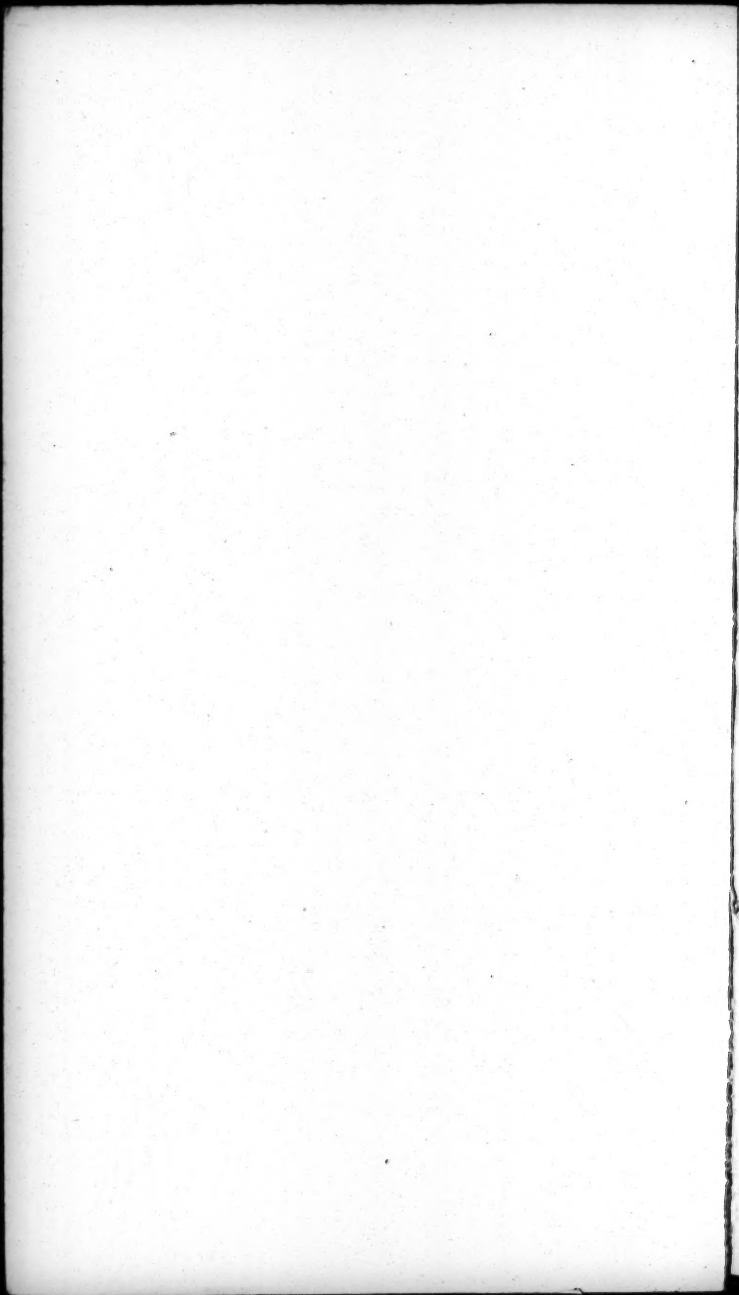
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*The Second Edition, with Additions.*

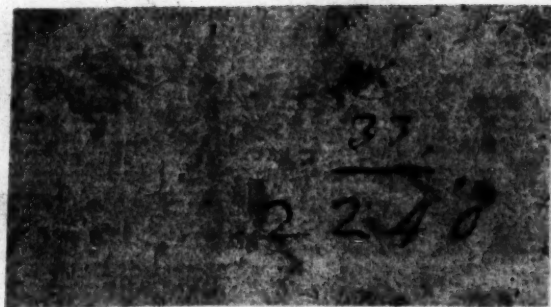
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Price Bound 1 s.







599-a-26





*The Conspirators Consulting how to Kill the King by laying traps*



*King William Grants his Pardon to the Conspirators for Discovering the Plott*

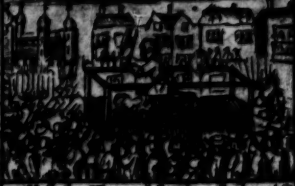
*THE  
History of the Plott,  
contriv'd by a  
Hellish Crew  
Against the  
Life of His Sacred Majesty  
King William III.*



*These were the Assassins that Kill'd the King*



*St. William Perkins vs. John Fennick and 6 Traitors more dyed at Tyburn*



*St. John Fennick was beheaded on Tower hill for the same,*

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THE  
P R E F A C E  
TO THE  
R E A D E R.

READER,

**I**N this small Book, you will find so well a compacted, and compleat History of the late Horrid Plot and Conspiracy, against the Life of our most gracious King, &c. that numerous Books, or Papers can not furnish you with the like; nor indeed is there any thing publick, comparable to it, in giving such ample Satisfaction to all sorts of People.

Here you may see, when we were at the very brink of Ruin, and the most precious Life in the World was to have fallen a Sacrifice by villainous



## To the Reader.

Hands, how miraculously Providence interposed, and brought us a famous Rescue, by a timely Discovery of their wicked Practices, and Purposes, -defeating all in a Moment, as I may term it, that they had been long contriving at much Cost, and restless Endeavours, to bring it about, turning the Mischief on their Heads that had brooded it, to their own Shame and Confusion, to the Scandal of the—— Court, where it was contrived, and the exemplary Punishment of many of the Conspirators, who, dying as Traytors, justly Condemned, have owned their Guilt, and committed it under their own Hands as a lasting Stain on them to all Posterity; so that, though some Persons disaffected to their Native Country, and particularly to the present Government may evade it, yet in all points it has been fully made out, and appears so plain and evident, that it has passed all Contradiction, and at last, put Gain-sayers to silence: Inso-much, that there is now no Man in his  
right



## To the Reader.

right Senses, but concludes, and firmly believes it to be true, not only in the general, but in its particular Branches; villainously levelled, not only at the Life of the King, but to procure the Dessolation and Misery of Three flourishing Kingdoms, by bringing in a merciless Enemy, whose Cruelties their Neighbour-Countries have too sadly felt, as far as Fire and Sword, pushed on by many apparent Treacheries, and breach of Oaths, and Leagues could carry them; for which great Deliverance, as often as it comes to our remembrance, we ought to return infinite Thanks to Almighty God, who has so openly declared himself for us: And let our Childrens Children know what a mighty Salvation he has wrought for us; and that the Memory of it might be continued to Posterity, is one main End of Writing this Book, to leave it on Record for Historians to build on, when, with the Actions of future Times, they come to enlarge the Chronicles of these Kingdoms.

will continue to prove satisfactory to all true English-Men, as an Impartial Account of this remakable Transaction, I shall close this Preface with my earnest Wisbes, That so great a Wickedness may never again enter into the Hearts of any that profess themselves Christians, but that the miserable Ends and Disasters of such as I shall herein have occasion to mention, may stand as a Sea-mark to warn others from the like Practices, lest they split on the same fatal Rocks.

VALE.

A

A N  
Impartial History  
OF THE  
Plots and Conspiracies  
Against the  
L I F E  
O F  
His Sacred M A J E S T Y,  
King *William* III.

**I**T plainly appears, this detested Plot and Conspiracy against His Majesty's Sacred Life, and to Subjugate these Kingdoms under the Tyranny of a *French* Power, has been of considerable standing, carried on by Indefatigable Endeavours, and vast Expence, as well in *France* as in *England*; we cannot forget that in the Year 1692, the  
B late

late King *James*, attended by divers of the *French*, and some *English* Nobility, intended to have Invaded *England*; and to that purpose, between 11 and 1200 *French* Horse and Foot were drawn down to the Sea-Ports of *Normandy* and *Britain*, where Ships were gathering to embark them; but by the singular Providence of Almighty God, by and with the Vigilance of Admiral *Russel*, their Fleets were hindered from joyning, and on the 18th of *May*, he gave a fatal Defeat to that Squadron of Men of War, commanded by Monsieur *Tourville*, sinking five or six in the Fight, and burning about 20 more in *Cape de Wick*, *La Hogue*, and other Bays and Ports on the Coast of *France*: and then it appeared that the *French* Admiral had some Assurance from his Master, and the late King, that part of our Fleet would Revolt as soon as the Fight was begun; but the Loyalty of the Commanders deceived him; and the late King, who was to have Embarked and Transported his Forces to *England*, under the Favour of this Engagement, in the bad Success being utterly disappointed by the Hand of Providence, made them consider they could not bring their Purposes about by force, having by this time heard how the generality of the People of *England* were cordially affected to King *William*, whom God had made an Instrument in his Hand, for their Deliverance from *Popery* and *Slavery*, they were not ignorant of the Joy they expressed for the Victory and Defeat of the

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the designed Invasion, and therefore many Consults were held, how to bring it about by a mean and base Treachery.

There had been something of this kind on foot the Year before, for it was concluded, whilst King *William* lived, the Crown of *England* was secured to him in his Peoples Love, as well as by the Laws of the Land, but there had been no great Progress made in the Design, tho the Marquess of *Louvois*, the *French* King's Secretary, and Favourite, had approved it, and been at charge to encourage Villains to Assassinate the Life of a Prince, whom he durst not face in the Field; a Prince who shrinks not from his Foes, but bravely exposes himself in the Fronts of his Battles, and dares the utmost Fury of his Enemies. However, *Louvois* being dead, that wicked Treachery and Conspiracy against the Life of the best of Kings, was revived. The Marquess of *Barbisenix*, who enjoyed his deceased Father's Place of Secretary of State, to his lasting Infamy, appearing barefac'd in it, procuring Assassins, though no doubt he acted by the Dictates of Greater than himself: And since this seems linked to the present detestable Conspiracy, I shall clear the way as I proceed, in giving the Reader an account of it, before I come to the other, though, no doubt, of a piece, their first Movers being the same.

As a wicked Instrument to this Purpose, one Sir *Bartholomew Linier*, Kt. and *Sieur D'Grandville* was pitched on: This Man being

of a desperate Fortune, was tempted for present Rewards, and larger Promises, to take all advantages to destroy the most precious Life in the World, but Heaven prevented so great a Mischief to almost all *Europe*, which is so nearly interested in His Majesty's Preservation. *Grandville* no sooner embark'd in this pernicious Design, but he was inform'd, That one *Anthony Dumont* had the Year before been engaged in it, but now retired to *Hannover*, whither *Grandville* often writ to him, to engage with him, and watch all Opportunities this Campaign; and one *Leefdale* coming to *Paris* about that time, he made him acquainted with it, who shewed a willingness to be concerned in it, but soon after, by a Letter, gave notice of it to his Friends in *Holland*, that they might inform the King of it; and the like Discovery was made by *Dumont*, to the Duke of *Zell*, who acquainted His Majesty with it about the same time he received the other account; thus an early Providence appeared in his Majesty's Protection.

Whilst these things happened, *Grandville* appointed *Dumont* to stay at *Uden*, in the Country of *Ravestejn*, and himself set out from *Paris* in the Company of *Leefdale*; and passing through *Brussels*, he communicated the Conspiracy to one *Amours*, who had been a Servant to *Leefdale's* Father; from thence they went to *Antwerp*, and so to *Eyndhoven*, where *Grandville* was seized and carried Prisoner to *Bois le Duc*; his Majesty directing Examinations



tions to be taken there : In brief, waving tedious Circumstances, *Leefdale* declared, *Grandville* had told him the King of *Great Britain* was looked on as the only Obstacle to the *French* King's Designs ; that he had sent *Dumont* 200 Pistols to keep him firm to the business, and that he had sent him 10 Ducats from *Brussels*, by a Bill of Exchange ; that whilst they were at *Mons*, a Report being there spread of some disorders that were risen in *Scotland*, which would oblige His Majesty to cross the Seas again, *Grandville* fearing it might happen before he could execute his Design, spoke to *Leefdale* in these words, viz. *Dear Friend, we are like to lose our Fortunes, I beg of you we may go away immediately.*

*John D'Amours* being examined, said, That *Grandville* told him at *Brussels*, he had great business to do, which had miscarried the last Year ; and he asked him if he had any thing to say to the King ? (meaning the King of *England* : ) Yes, (said he) *to brak his Neck.* Then he represented to him the difficulty that might attend such an Undertaking, to which he reply'd, *I have given my Word to Monsieur Barbeseux, and I'll do it.* And that going one Day with *Grandville* and *Leefdale* by the Jesuits Church at *Brussels*, *Grandville* said, *Let us go in and say a Pater noster, that God would bless our Undertakings ;* and accordingly went into the Church. And *Dumont* being afterward Examined, own'd the Fact in all its Circumstances, viz. That *Madam Main-*

*renon* was acquainted with the Design, and that *Grandville*, in one of his Letters sent to him, said, *He would accomplish his Design, by the means of Madam Maintenon*: That he told him if the Business succeeded, he should have an ample Recompence, even to be a Duke. That whilst the Deponent was at *Hannover*, he communicated the Design to Monsieur *Bedal*, alias *Hasfelt*, the *Franch* King's Minister in that Court, who approved it, laying, *It would be a very good Business, if it could be brought to pass*; shewing him likewise Copies of Letters he had writ to *Barbe-seux* and *Grandville*, and the Answers he received from them, whereupon he lent him fifty Crowns, &c.

At last *Grandville* being examined, and perceiving the Matter was discovered, and his own Letters could be produced against him, as Evidence to Convict him, he ingeniously confessed all the Circumstances of the Design, as they are particularized in these Sentences: After which, being brought to the Army in *Flanders*, he was put on his Tryal before the Grand Court-Martial of General Officers, where he appeared several times with the Witnesses before named, who not only persisted in what they had already deposed, but added many other Particulars and Circumstances, of which there were but very few *Grandville* did not acknowledge to be true freely, without so much as naming the Rack to him, either before or after Sentence.

During



During his Imprisonment, he sent two Petitions to His Majesty, acknowledging his Guilt, and that he acted by the Order of Monsieur *Barbeseux* and *Chanlais*, confessing, that Conspiring against a Crowned Head, was worthy of Death. The Judges after this, having met several times, gave Sentence, which in brief was this, the Evidence being before summed up,

*Whereas this Horrid Design is contrary to the Law of God, of Nature, and of Nations, and ought for the deterring of Others from the like Machinations, to be punished with the greatest Severity: the said Court-Martial, having with mature deliberation examined and considered the whole matter, have thought fit to judge and declare, as they do hereby declare, The Prisoner to be guilty of High-Treason, and do Condemn him to be Drawn on a Sledge to the place of Execution, there to be Hanged on a Gallows, cut down before he be Dead, his Body to be opened, and his Bowels taken out and burnt, his Head to be set upon a Pole, his Body to be quartered, and the four Quarters to be hung up where his Majesty shall think fit, and do further declare, all his Estate to be Confiscated, and Condemn him to bear the Charge and Cost of his Tryal. Given and pronounced in the Head Quarters of the Army, under the Command of His Majesty of Great Britain, by the Earl of *Athlone*, General of the Horse, President; the Lieutenant-General *Van Sars-ventmore*, and Lieutenant-General *Talmash*;*

the Marquess *de la Forrest*, the Heer *Van Weede*, Count *Noyelles*, the Heer *Zobel*, Major-Generals, and the Brigadiers *Churchill* and *Ramsay*, *Cornelious Van Wou*, and *Richard Uthwayt*, Judges Advocates, assisting at *Lembeck*, the 11th of *August* 1692.

In pursuance of this Sentence the Chevalier *Grandville* was Executed in the Camp the 13th of *August*. All he said at the place of Execution, was to Recommend himself to the Prayers of those that were present; but the same Morning before he went to be Executed, he wrote a Letter, viz.

From the Camp at *Hall*, *August* 13th, 1692.

Madam,

I Pray you go to the Archbishop of Rheimes, with Monsieur Jourdvill, and let the Archbishop know, that it costs me my Life for obeying the Orders of Monsieur Barbezeux; which is the Favour desired of you by your Servant,

D. Grandville.

Postscript.

Speak to the Marquess D' Arley, that he take care I be prayed for.

This was directed to Madam Jury, in *Trevel-street*, against the Street of the two Crowns near the Hostel of *Soissons*, in *Paris*.

Upon the occasion of this Letter, it will not be improper to take notice of a Passage that happened.

happened some days before his *Condemnation* since it has a great agreement with the said Letter, and might serve to explain it if it wanted any clearer Light, and is as follows :

One discoursing with him in Prison, and observing he sought to justify himself upon the Orders he had received from Monsieur *Barbeseux*, told him, Tho' that was in itself a very weak Excuse for being engaged in a base Action, yet it might prove so much the worse, as that it was like enough Monsieur *Barbeseux* would disown that he gave any such Orders, or that he was any ways concerned with him in a business of this nature. To which *Grandville* earnestly reply'd, *Let him deny what he pleases, yet if I were put upon it I would make it appear very plain, for I have an Original Paper under his own Hand, which I have left with a Friend of mine, who will not part with it to any but my self, and no Body else knows with whom I have entrusted it.*

Thus we see plainly what kind of Instruments the Court of *France* use in their detestable Designs and Hellish Practices ; nay, so far were these bloody-minded Miscreants indulged and encouraged, that it appears on good Grounds they were to be assisted by Order from Court, with a Party to bring them off, so they succeeded in the intended Assassination. The manner agreed on to do it, was thus : That when the King should Ride along the Lines, or shou'd go to take a View, or when the the Army should decamp, *Dumont* should lie in Ambuscade, and that

when His Majesty should pass within 100 Paces of him, he should fire ; then one *Chantais*, to whom notice was to be given before of the time, should be with 3000 Horse at the Duke of *Luxemburg's* grand Guard, and immediately advancing bring him off, though it seems they not greatly valued him, this appearing only to be a Blind to push him on in his fool-hardiness ; and if he could have answered their Design, they declared among themselves, it little mattered whither he came off, or were taken : And it further appears the Duke of *Luxemburg* had Orders from the Secretary to spare a Party of Horse on this *Occasion*, to what number should be required, and to draw near with his other Troops to support them, and favour their Retreat. But their Malice and Thirst of Blood was disappointed by a happy Providence, and turned to their own shame, rendring the Contrivers detestable in the Eyes of all Nations ; for the Plot discovered, the Campaign ended, and the Troops ordered into Winter-Quarters, His Majesty returned to *England* in safety to the great Joy of his People ; in this Business *Colloner Parker*, an *Englishman*, was deeply concerned, who coming afterward over, was committed to the Tower of *London*, for High-Treason, but by the help of 300 Pounds, 100 of which was advanced by Sir *John Friend*, he found means to Escape. Though *Grandville* was dead, they resolved to keep their Barbarous Design alive with some, altering their Measures, so that at last it came

to a Result, the Scene of the Project should be laid in *England*, seeing in *Flanders* Providence had disappointed them; and it was observed soon after there was a Report, supposed purposely spread abroad to favour their coming over, that such as served the late King at *St. Germains*, where hardly used, many discharged upon the account of being *Protestants*, and others, for want of their Salaries (the late King being bare of Money) had nothing to subsist on, and so out of pure necessity, was forced to shift for themselves; and indeed it appears several came by stealth into *England*, without Leave obtained to return after they had been in an Enemy's Country; yet being fearful, and not well knowing how to trust each other, they thought it good to expect Orders, or to take more mature Deliberation in so weighty a Matter, full of danger and hazard in all its Circumstances; this, and the *French King's* being hard pressed in *Flanders*, made the Design for a time go slowly on, but in Winter last was a Twelvemonth, they began to push on their Nefarious Designs, when as the Conspirators had several Meetings to Con-  
 trive, Consult and Imagine the Death of the King, in *January*, *February* and *March*; but they could not then agree on such Methods as they thought expedient, which made them defer it till after the Campaign, when His Majesty returned to *England* in Triumph, having taken the strong Town and Castle of *Namur*, in the sight of an Army of 100000  
*French*

*French*, Commanded by the Duke *D'Villeroy*. In the mean while the Creatures of *France* were no ways idle, and several Consultations were held, and Meetings had to concert their Measures, for the accomplishing their Wishes, though in the end they prospered not. It seems that Collonel *Parker* was the first Tool, as far as yet is come to light, in this tottering Machine to encourage the Bigots in *England*, as he had laboured to do many in *France*; and to order affairs here, come over, having proposed it to one *de la Rue* in *France*, and no doubt many others, but he declined it at *St. Germain's*, where the late King had usually kept his Court, saying, *He would propose it to the Lord Melfort*, Secretary of State to the said late King *James*, which he did, and requested of him, *Whether he thought it convenient to go over for England, as Collonel Parker had desired him?* But his Advice at that time was contrary to his present crossing the Seas, but ordered him to stay a while, saying, *There was something a doing that would please him*; but nothing being done, he came for *England*, Coll. *Parker* some time before being gone, viz. a little before the Victory obtained over the *French* at Sea, and the burning their Ships at *La Hogue*, &c. for then, as is said, an Invasion was intended, which is supposed the thing *Melfort* meant was a doing, that would be so pleasing; but in that the Elements fought against them, many of their Transport-Ships were broken, and their Men of War disabled, by loss of  
Masts,



Masses, and other Accedents, whereby they found an entire Disappointment in that their particular Design of an Invasion, as through Miraculous Providence they have hither to done in all others, which in the Sequel will appear, and in it the Goodness of a Gracious and Merciful God, to whom we and our Posterity ought to return continual Praise and Thanksgiving for the happiness and freedom we are at present in possession of, and they are in a fair prospect of enjoying. But to return nearer to the Subject matter:

The Measures of the Court of *France* being broken in such like Disappointments, and those of lesser moment, viz. the refusal of some they relied on, to engage in so pernicious a Design, full of Danger and Uncertainty, they drove not on *Jehu* like, as before, but laid their Councils more secret, and as they thought, their Designs deep enough, yet in many things they might have perceived their Wheels of the Expedition they intended, was taken off by many singular Instances, as will appear.

Now by this time divers were prepared to struggle against the present Government, and labour (if possible they could) to Subvert it; but though Orders were taken for raising Horse and many other things, *Sir John Friend*, and *Sir William Perkins*, being particularly concerned in this Point, having actually Men in Pay, or at least such as they allowed Subsistence-Mony, to be in a readiness, when they should be required, the former having a  
Commission

Commission for a Regiment of Horse, under the late King's Hand; and the latter to raise a Troop; yet observing the good Affections of the People of *England*, to *K. William* in general, and that there was a blessed Harmony in Agreement, between him and his Parliament; it seems they doubted their own Weakness, or the little Assistance they could expect at Home, if they raised a Rebellion, which they called Levying of War, for which they denied not there was a Commission from the late King, so that at the *Old King's Head Tavern*, in *Leaden-hall-street*, it was particularly agreed on in Consult, where were present some of considerable Quality, that without Forreign Forces they found themselves in no condition of acting; and therefore in that Debate it was agreed, to send *Charnock* to *France*, and when he should come to the Speech of the late King, he should assure him of their *Readiness*, and to desire him to prevail with the *French King* to furnish and send over 8000 Foot, 1000 Horse, and 1000 Dragoons, and that the Chief of the Conspirators, especially as for Ability, would assuredly meet him where-ever he should Land with those Forces with 2000 Horse, which were to be raised among them, and furnished with Arms, and other Warlike Habiliments; for indeed Sir *John Friend's* Zeal for the Cause, tho' against the Religion he pretended to profess, had pushed him so forward in the Business, that he had named and prepared divers Officers, whose Names I shall have occasion to mention when



when I come to some particulars of his Tryal, and though *Charnock* undertook this Message, yet not hastily entering upon it, he met them about a Week after, and shewed an unwillingness to undertake such an Errand, unless he was again assured from them that they continued the Resolution they had taken up, that the late King might positively rely on it, otherwise he seemed to term it a foolish Errand ; insinuating as if he should get Disgrace by it : However, some time being taken to consider, about a Week after they met at Mrs. *Montjoy's* Tavern, and *Charnock* was earnest to know whether they did still agree to what they had proposed, in order to their levying Forces, so that he might not go on this Errand, without a full Assurance ; they did all agree to assure the late King that they would assist him upon his Landing, so be that any convenient or timely notice was given them of it, as to when and where he would Land ; and further, they desired he would make all the Expedition he could.

This Meeting was in *May* or *June*, 1697, at a time when they thought their greatest Advantage might be, for then His Majesty was gone to *Flanders*, and the Kingdom was very much drained of the Regular Troops to oppose the Torrent of the *French* in those Countries, and indeed they signalized their Valour to that degree, against the Disturbers of *Christendom*, that His Majesty forgot not to take notice of it to their high Commendation in his Speech to the Parliament on his  
Re-

Return : Besides this, our Fleet was divided, a great part of the Capital Ships, being on the Coast of *Spain*, and by their Influence put a stop to the Progress of the Enemy's Arms in *Catalonia*, blocking up the *Toulon* Fleet, and taking many rich Prizes ; however, this was a time thought most convenient by the Conspirators, but they were again disappointed by Delays ; yet though their Messenger went over with full Instructions, meeting with an interrupted Passage, such care had Heaven of the Safety of this Nation, that he found things unprepared, for after some attendance, having Admittance to the late King's Presence, and delivering from point to point what was given him in charge of the measures that had been taken here, and in what readiness they were to assist him, if he Landed : He reply'd, That he thanked them for their kindness to assist him, and their readiness therein, but at that time the *French* King could not spare any Men ; for indeed he was hardly pressed on his Frontiers in *Flanders*, on the *Rhine*, &c. so that all he could do, was to make a defensive War ; in which nevertheless he lost many Troops, and some deserted, great want of Provisions and other Necessaries having intruded into his Armies. So that *Charnock* returning with his Answer, fruitless to their Expectation, they seemed much abashed ; but, as it since appears, resolved not to give over the Design : However, for that time it could not be brought about in all their Judgments, therefore it was put off till Winter by  
this

this Cabal, though at the same time there were others on foot, yet not enforced to the pernicious height they came to, till a while after.

Mauny desperate Persons were lurking about Town ready to engage in whatsoever Design should offer, wherein they might imagine they could mend their broken Fortunes; and to these a fit Instrument was sent about *January* last, viz. *Sir George Berklay*, Lieutenant of the Guards to the late K. in *France*, with Instructions to incite them to revive and go on in their Attempts to Assassinate His Majesty, and for his Assistance there were sent over before his coming and after, about 20 Troopers, that did or had belonged to his Master's Guards in *France*; and to encourage other disaffected Persons to engage in the Conspiracy against the Life of King *William*, he brought over a pretended Authority to justify them, viz. A Commission from the late King, as he affirmed to them, and soon communicated his Design to several of them, as to Mr. *Charnock*, Capt. *Porter* and *Sir William Perkins*; the Tennor of the Commission was general, and directed to all his Loving Subjects, to raise and levy War against the Pr. of *Orange*, and his Adherents, and to seize all Forts and Castles, &c. which infers, it was to levy War against the Person of King *William*, for that Party stiled him in most of their Meetings only Prince of *Orange*, and to levy War against his Person, can bear no other reasonable Construction,

Construction, but that they design'd to Assassinate his Sacred Person, or otherways to take him out of the World.

In order to accomplish and bring about the Conspiracy, there were several Meetings, sometimes at Capt. *Porter's* Lodgings, other times at the *Nags-head* in *Covent-garden*, and at the *Sun* in the *Strand*, where several Ways and Methods were propos'd to accomplish their *Design*, and several Persons, as a Committee from their Body, were appointed to go and view the Ground, where most conveniently the King's Person might be assaulted, of which number were *Edward King*, Capt. *Porter*, and one *Knightley*. And the day before they went, there was another meeting, wherein they came to a firm resolve, That they should go and view it; and accordingly they did go to take particular notice of the Places the King pass'd usually, when he went a Hunting to divert himself; and after that, at *Brentford* they went over to *Richmond*, and at length concluded on a place in a narrow Lane, between *Brentford* and *Turnham-Green*, where but few of the Guards could ride a-breast: and, according to appointment, coming back in the Evening, they found their Company at the *Nags-head* Tavern, viz. Sir *William Perkins*, Sir *George Barklay*, Mr. *Charnock*, and others; giving them an exact account of the Premises, and their Opinions thereon; so that it was resolv'd the wicked Design should be put in practice in that place their Messengers had

ap-

approv'd of, and the manner thus, *viz.*

That Sir *George Barklay*, with seven or eight chosen out of the rest, were to attack the King's Coach, and Assassinate him, whilst two other Parties attack'd the Guards, their number being to be forty or upwards : And the first time they came to a Result, to put this in execution, was on the 15th of *February*, 1695, on a *Saturday*, the day the King usually went a Hunting ; but by an extraordinary Providence it happen'd he did not go abroad that day. It was further contriv'd, to make sure of what they intend'd, That there should be two Persons, whom they term'd Orderly Men, *viz.* *Chambers*, and *Durance a Fleming*, placed at *Kensington*, to give speedy notice to the Conspirators, when the King went abroad : And after that, the latter of these was order'd to take notice of those places that were most convenient for the lodging and placing their Men two or three in a House, the less to be taken notice of the day they were to accomplish their Design.

The Conspirators being disappointed *Feb.* the 15th, by reason of the King's not going abroad, it was agreed it should be done the *Saturday* following, Horse and Arms being prepar'd for the greater part of them, and some that were not at these Consults, but in Pay, kept close, and rarely stirred abroad ; so that on the *Friday* following, another Meeting was had at the *Nags-head* in *Covent garden*, and there they were in doubt,  
by

by reason of the former Disappointment, there was some Discovery, and the *Thing*, as they term'd it, had taken air; but being told, If it had been discover'd, they should not have met there; the greater part seem'd better satisfied, and it gave them, in a probability, new assurance that they were not discover'd, and therefore resolv'd to put their Design in execution the next day; and at this Meeting Capt. *Porter* said, Some of the Horses he had undertaken to provide were fallen lame; whereupon Sir *William Parkins* told him, He could get him a Note to Mr. *Lewis*, Master of the Horse to the Earl of *Feversham*, for three Horses; and accordingly he sent him the Note to receive them.

On the 22d of *February*, in the morning, they had a meeting according to appointment, and prepar'd things in a readiness, and a great Joy appear'd amongst them, when one of their orderly Men brought them notice the King did go a Hunting that Morning. They supposing now they should be sure to accomplish their Design; and so they order'd for setting out: yet Providence had thrust in between them and the intended Mischief, and all on a sudden they were dashed and startled into new Frights, when their other Orderly Man gave notice, about Twelve of the Clock, the King's going was put off; that the Coaches were come back, and the Horses all of a Foam; then indeed, as God had order'd it, the Discovery was made,



[ 21 ]

made, and they nearly apprehending it to be done, dispersed in great Frights, some going into the Country, and others skulking about Town.

Thus, *Reader*, I have briefly shew'd you the two Branches of the Conspiracy, though in a manner they twine in one, as tending to the Overthrow of the Establish'd Government; and the more to be lamented, had it taken effect, in the loss of the best of Kings; for, had it been an open Invasion only, it had been more excusable in an Enemy: But the Foundation of an Invasion being laid on the Assassination of a Noble and Valiant Prince, who never refuses to meet his Enemy in the fair Field of Battel and generous Hostility, renders the whole Design so enormous and detestable, that it must be a lasting Infamy in the Record of Story on the Promoters of it. But having proceeded thus far at Home, give me leave to look a little Abroad, and see what more was doing in *France*, whilst these things were clandestinely working in wicked Minds.

In *January* last the *French* King held a Council at *Marli*, where the latter Designs are held to have their new Invigoration; it consisted of his most intimate Favourites, but a true Catalogue of their Names is yet wanting; they had notice, it seems, that Five hundred Merchant-Ships were bound to the *Streights*, and a great Squadron of Men of War for their Convoy, was going to reinforce *Sir George Rook*, which in a manner, they

they concluded, would thin the Channel of  
Mariners and Shipping, at least not leave a  
sufficient number to have withstood the con-  
junct Squadrons of Monsieur *Nesmond* and  
*Dubart*; the advance of the Spring and  
calmness of the Weather not a little contri-  
buting to their Undertaking, they hereupon  
hasten'd their Preparations for an early In-  
vasion, having assurance from their Compli-  
ces here, of Assistance upon their Landing,  
and hoping the People would generally be  
in a ferment about the Alteration of the *Coin*.  
It animated the *French* Court to think this  
was the Time, or none, to reinstate the late  
King *James*. The Uncertainty of *Guinea's*  
likewise went a great way with them, as al-  
so the Misunderstanding they thought might  
arise between *England* and *Scotland*, on the  
account of the New *East-India* Company,  
erected in the latter. But what weighed  
most with the *French* King was, that our  
Regular Troops were for the greater part in  
*Flanders*, &c. and few left at Home, and  
those in remote places, whereby he expect-  
ed they could make but little opposition.  
These things put together, and deliberately  
weighed, it came to an Agreement the 6th  
of *Febr.* and was carried on with all the Se-  
crecy imaginable, that King writing his Di-  
spatches and Mandates with his own Hand,  
who, to strengthen his Council in the more  
weighty approvement of the Design, sent for  
the *Marschal de Boufflers*, a Person highly  
disgusted the last Campaign, as being made



of a Prisoner at the Surrender of the Castle of  
*Namur*, till his Master did the King of *Eng-  
land* the Justice to restore the Garrisons  
surpriz'd by the Treachery of the Gover-  
nours in *Dyxmude* and *Deynse*, and detain'd  
contrary to the Cartel and Agreement for  
the Exchange of Prisoners taken on either  
side in this present War. The Mareschal no  
sooner arriv'd from *Flanders*, whither he was  
gone to view the Garrisons, and give neces-  
sary Orders for the fortifying and encreasing  
the number of Soldiers, if he saw fit, but the  
Design was communicated to him, and what  
had been debated in Council, who highly  
approv'd the Undertaking, and heighten'd  
the *French* King's Conceit, with an impossi-  
bility of its failing to succeed; (yet, by the  
way, when Man proposes, let him always  
consider, that it is God who disposes all Af-  
fairs in Heaven and Earth.) But to proceed:  
Upon this and some other Consults of the like  
nature, the late King *James* was immedi-  
ately sent for, and acquainted with the impor-  
tant Secret, who so well approved what had  
been projected, that after some Considera-  
tion on the matter, he promis'd to go in  
Person for the Invasion of *England*, especial-  
ly when the *French* King assur'd him he ne-  
ver saw a fairer prospect of Success in any  
Undertaking in his Life; so that according  
to the best account we have, the Duke of  
*Berwick*, with several of the late King's Ser-  
vants, were thought fit to be sent over, to  
know how his Father's Friends stood affect-  
ed,

ed, and what assistance they were able or ready to give him, to prepare things, and forward them for the *favouring* the intended Invasion.

Matters being thus concerted, Orders with all imaginable Secrecy were given out, and carried to the Ports by trusty Messengers, to hasten the *assembling* and *fitting out* such *Transport-Ships* and Men of War as were *thought* sufficient to be employ'd in this Service. These Orders were obeyed with all the punctuality that could be, and no cost spared; but the Secrecy was the chiefest thing in it: As to the knowledge for what it was intended, and altho' it could not be hid, for such a number of Ships could not be concealed in Docks or Creeks; therefore to blind the Suspicion, and carry it fair, it was industriously given out, *There was no more in it, but that some Knots and Societies of Merchants finding a visible Decay of their Trade, were resolved to employ their Stocks that remained in fitting out Privateers, to make Reprisals in those that had done them the Injury, either in taking their Ships, or withdrawing their Trade from them.* And indeed France at that time had in some manner cover'd St. George's Channel, and the Coasts of Holland and England with their small Privateers, as well to make the World believe that was the *only Design*, as to hinder the Confederates from discovering what was *doing* in her Ports.

Upon

Upon notice the Transport-Ships were ready, and the Soldiers to the number of 20000, almost all *French*, and of the best Troops, ready to Embark at *Calis, Bullen, Dunkirk, &c.* the *French King* went on the 7th of *February* to *St. Germans*, where he caused to be deliver'd to the *late King* 100000 *Luedores*, desiring him to hasten his departure, for that all things were in readiness; and there he took his Leave of him, wishing him a prosperous and successful Undertaking. He likewise assured him, at that Farewel, that as soon as he had posted himself in *England*, he would supply him with more Troops, to enable him to perfect the Undertaking: Whereupon they parted, and the *late King* spent the remainder of the day in visiting divers *Grandeess*, and amongst others the *Pope's Nuncio*, who pronounced a solemn Benediction, on what he was about to enterprize; but, it seems, it signified in the end no more than *Pope Pius's* Blessing to the *Spanish Armado*, who were coming upon the like account, *Anno 1588.*

The next day the *late King* set forward in a Calash to *St. Dennis*, where he call'd a Publick Notary to take a Register of some Jewels he had left in Merchants Hands, as Pledges for Money, to enable him the better to prosecute his Design. In this time a Servant came, and told him, *His Master, the Duke of Berwick, was but a little behind*; and about an hour after, the Duke came from *England*, (having been fourteen Days

absent, it being the mean while given out, That he was gone to *Catalonia*, and gave an account of his Proceedings, and what Promises had been made him; and, to confirm all, produced divers Letters, as is said, from Persons of Note, both in *Scotland* and *England*, who promised to raise Forces on his Landing with a *French* Power.

He detained him not, but dispatched him with all convenient speed to the *French King*, whom he found at *Croissy*; and these things being communicated, as well by a Verbal Account as by Letters, some new Measures were taken; and it seems a Declaration being wanting, in order to disperse, for cajoling and flattering the People of *England*, when the late King should land, he caused one to be drawn up, printed, and sent after him, promising therein many fine things, as a Relaxation from Taxes, perpetual Parliaments, and the Preservation of the *Protestant Religion*.

This being done, the late King went to *Montervill*, and from thence to *Calis*, where the *Mareschal de Boufflers* met and acquainted him, the Forces were ready, consisting of Twenty four Battalions of Foot, Seven Squadrons of Horse, and Five of Dragoons, and that all things else were in a forwardness, as Mortars, Field-pieces, and heavy Cannon for Land-Service, Ammunition and Provisions; but the *Dragoons*, for the speedier passage, had Orders to leave their Horses, and only take their Furniture, as being promised

to be remounted in *England* by the Duke of *Berwick*, who was so confident of the Success of this Business, that he told the *French* King, he scrupled not but within three months he should be sent over by his Father, to give him Thanks in way of Embassy, for all his Kindness to him since he left his Kingdoms. Nor now did the *French* Court labour to keep the intended Invasion longer a Secret, for that King not doubting, because the Wind had been fair, but that his Fleet was put to Sea, signified his Design to all the Foreign Ministers, who resided there, his Intent to form a Descent both on *England* and *Scotland*, to restore the late King, or make those Kingdoms the Seat of War, to divert the Arms of the Allies in *Flanders*, &c. telling them moreover, That by this Method he should, past doubt, oblige the Confederates to a speedy Peace; and, That it was morally impossible, bating Wind and Weather, that it could ever miscarry: And indeed things were in a mighty forwardness. The Commanders of the Men of War, who where to Convoy the Transport-Ships, were *Monsieur de Nesmond*, *Gabaret* and *Dubart*: The Conduct of the Land Army was in the *Marquess de Beuvron Arconit*, as Chief, and under him *Precontal* and *Albergotti*, as *Mareschals de Camp* and for Brigadeers, viz. The Duke of *Hu- nières*, *Monsieur de Memray*, beside Subalternates, and *Lapara* the chief Engineer, and the Men being Embarked, the Day before

it was discovered here, 300 Sail, or thereabouts weighed Anchor, and stood to Sea, but the Wind shifting, were obliged to return into the Ports, and disembark some part of them. These were designed to Land in *Kent* *Sussex*, or the Mouth of the River, as it was given out; and the Providence is the more remarkable, since, had they gone forward we might have been under some surprize, and having neither a sufficient number of Shipping or Land Forces, at so short a warning in a readiness to oppose them.

And to take a further notice of their Confidence in succeeding, take a taste of what their own Gazeteer, or the Author of the *Mercury Gallant*, says to the *Master* in a *Letter*, dated *Feb. 29. viz.*

This great Sedulity, and restless Application of the King appears in that which has been the Entertainment and Discourse of all the Universe; never any Age, never any Histories have afforded Examples of a secret Parallel to it; a thousand, and a thousand Persons have been hard at Work, preparing all things necessary for the passage of the King of *Great Britain*, (so he styles the late King *James*) into *England*, yet no Body could divine the reason of so many motions till the very moment the King himself was pleased to make it known, and between and 500 Vessels lay ready to Transport Soldiers, Horses, and all things necessary for the Army, which they were to Transport, and the supply of those that waited on them, the

who



whole under the Convoy of 30 Men of War, yet no Body had the least suspicion that there was any such design in view; all these Preparations are to Embark, part at *Dunkirk*, part at *Callis*, and Monsieur *Gabaret* is to command the Fleet: It may be said, whatever the Art of Man could invent, for the executing of a vast Design, is to be seen in what relates to the present Descent; 'tis for God and the Elements to do the rest, without which we can promise nothing to our selves: The Jubilee is to be opened just upon the Execution of this Enterprize, which will cause People to redouble their Prayers to Heaven for a Blessing upon it; and so he proceeds to give an account of the Forces as has been recited: But fearing I have kept my Reader too long, beyond the Seas, it is time to bring him to *England* again, that there we may see by what miraculous Providence all these great Preparations were frustrated in a happy and timely discovery.

You may remember I was before come to the 22d of *Febr.* when the intended Assassination of his Majesty's Person was the last time resolved to be put in execution, and that the Assassins were disappointed by his not going abroad that day, as they expected, or had word he did not go, from one of their Orderly Men, who were planted as Spies at *Kensington*, to observe when the Guards and the King's Coaches went out, and to give notice to some of the Conspirators at *London*, and they as privately and swiftly as they



could, to convey it to others, so as that they might not fall into Confusion or Disorder in their Disappointments, but this Precaution prevented it not, for by the second Disappointment, they fearing the Thing, as they termed it, had taken Air; and *Keys* being sent out to see what he could learn, brought them word, *The Guards were returned from Richmond foaming*; and going again for a farther Intelligence, return'd to the *Mews-Gate*, and the People much wondered what the reason should be the King did not go a Hunting for two Saturdays together, as he used to do, and that he had heard some muttering among the Guards, that it seems did not please him; whereupon the Bravoes flag'd their Courage, and immediately dispersed. But now let me hasten to particulars of the happy Discovery, and see in it the Wonders of God's Providence in frustrating evil Designs:

Capt. *Pendergrass* being sent for by Capt. *Porter*, about the 11th of *February* last, being then in the Country, came to Town in order to meet him, and the 13th of *Febr.* accordingly did meet him at the *Blue-Posts* in *Spring-Garden*, there they Dined, and he acquainted him a Design was on foot to take away the King's Life; and that Sir *George Berkley*, with other Officers, were come on purpose out of *France*, in order to execute it, which made him very uneasie when he told him the thing, but he held his Peace till he had an opportunity of waiting on my  
Lord

Lord *Portland*, which he did as soon as he could, and made him acquainted with the whole Intrigue of the Design as far as he had dived into it, intreating him to make the King acquainted with it. This was upon a *Friday Night, February 14*, when the very next Day the Attempt was resolved on to Assassinate His Majesty: my Lord *Portland* having acquainted the King with it, he told Capt. *Pendergrass*, that his Majesty was desirous to speak with him, and afterwards carried him into the King's Closet, where the King asked him some Questions, and he told him what he knew of the Design, but desired to be excused from naming any Persons, because he only intended to prevent such a Barbarous Action, and resolved not to be a Witness: (He having declared to my Lord *Portland* before his Abhorrence of so Barbarous a Business, and that his design of coming into it, and keeping Company with them, was to save the King's Life, by acquainting his Lordship with it.) He desired His Majesty not to go out that Day, but take care of himself, because there were Persons resolved to Assassinate him coming home; but, as is said, begged to be excused from naming Names, for he would rather die, then betray his Friend, and he thought it enough that he had saved His Majesty's Life; so that it was about half an hour before King could perswade him to name Names, and he would not do it before his Majesty had given him His Word and Honour that he

should be safe, and not obliged, or compelled against his Mind to be a Witness; and then he did name the Names, and told in that nature all he knew: so when the Fright was among them, on *February 22d*, he went out of Town with *Capt. Porter*, resolving not to be an Evidence, but being taken with him and *Keyes* at *Leatherhead*, in *Surrey*, and brought before the Council, he there being certified, that *Capt. Porter*, who had engaged him in it, had himself discovered and accused him, he thought himself discharged from any Obligation of Honour in concealing it, and willing to give an account of any thing he knew, and has since performed it, in giving a very large and satisfactory account of the Contrivances, and many Circumstantial Matters that happened at divers of their Consults, and that attended the wicked Design so luckily frustrated.

When His Majesty was first acquainted with it, His Goodness and Indulgence having been so great to all His Subjects, and having done so much for the *English Nation*, he could not tell how he might give Credit, that any could be so desperately wicked to form such a Design against his Life, till other concurring Evidence made him sensible there was something extraordinary in it, *viz.*

After *Capt. Pendergrass* had given the first notice to my Lord *Portland*, *Monsieur de la Rue*, not knowing any thing of that nature was discovered, having long before intended to make the King acquainted with the Conspiracy,

spiracy, if it had come to a Head; and perceiving the Mischief was intended on *Febr.* the 14th, he says, He would then have prevented it by a Discovery, but that he heard the King was not to go abroad that Day, his Method being to have put the Conspirators into the King's Hands, by getting 2 or 3 General Officers to be acquainted with it, and dividing the *Guards* into several Parties, in the Lane between *Brentford* and *Thornham-Green*, and so to have surprized them and their Horses in several of the Inns that they were quartered in: But on *Febr.* the 17th, least their Resolutions should be altered, and he get no perfect Intelligence how it was to be done; (for it seems *Charnock* and some others were doubtful of him, by the scruple they made to admit him into their Company one time at the *Nag's Head* in *St. James's Street*, so that *Charnock* seeing him at the Door, pulled his Head back, as he sat in a Coach, but perceiving *De la Rue* saw him, he came out and Complemented him, and then would have had him gone up Stairs, but he refused it, because he was not admitted at first;) so that he went to a General Officer of his Acquaintance, viz. *Brigadeer Lenson*, to acquaint him with the Business, but he was gone out of the Town, and then he left Word for him, That the next Day he would wait upon him; but going accordingly he found him not returned, and thereupon desired when he came Home, he should be acquainted, *Not to go out of Town till he came*

to him; and afterwards he met him and acquainted him with the business, and begged of him to make it known to the King that Day: to which he replied, *I will.* Then he asked him, *Which way he proposed to put them into the King's Hands?* And he told him, *The best and safest way for his Majesty was to go out on Feb. 22d, for the Parties that were to execute the Design, were not to go out of Town till the Afternoon, to be at Brentford when the King came back from Hunting, and that they should have 2 or 3 Troops of Horse by Parties to seize them in the Inns and Publick Houses, were they would disperse themselves.* To which Brigadier Lewson reply'd, *It was no ways safe to run that hazard; but he would offer it to the King, and let him know his Mind;* and accordingly the next Day he gave him notice he had acquainted the King with it, who desired to know who they were that were concerned in it: whereupon he gave him the Names of those he knew, and where they lived; and dining with him on Thursday, he told him of the forwardness the Conspirators were in, and of many Things and Discourses that had passed amongst them; and after Dinner Brigadier Lewson said, *He would go again to the King, and acquaint him with it, and that he should come to him on Friday Night, and missing to meet with the Conspirators, where Sir George Berkley and others had appointed a Consult, he went to a Play, and when he came Home, found 2 Letters from Brigadier Lewson, left for him to come to him,*

him, and going accordingly, he told him, the King was desirous to see him: He reply'd, *He would wait on him to the King with all his Heart*; and so he went with him to *Kensington*, and was introduced by my Lord *Portland*, where he made a large Discovery of his Knowledge, as to the Assassination, &c. and these two Accounts mainly agreeing in concurring Circumstances, and Matters of consequence.

And further, his Majesty receiving Advice of the *French* Preparations from the Duke of *Wertemburgh*, by Adjutant *Smettan*, and the same Assurance confirmed by Lieutenant Coll. *Mentz*, of the Regiment of *Bell-Castle*, it was thought fit to take Measures suitable to prevent these threatening Dangers, so that on *Saturday* in the Evening, being *Febr. 22d*, Messengers, with strong Guards, were sent to seize such of the Conspirators as Information was given against, by the Discoverers of the Design against his Majesty's Life, &c. For the Mannagement being committed to the Right Honourable my Lord *Cutts*, he assisted the said Messengers with some of his Captains and Files of Musketers; and with such indifatigable Diligence and Industry was the Search made, that that Night, and on *Sunday* Morning, a great many of the Conspirators were seized and brought unto the Guard-house at *White-hall*. The Guards were likewise doubled, and other needful Preparations taken. Those that were made Prisoners at this time, were

*Robert*



*Robert Charnock*, who in the late Reign had been Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Oxford*, upon the Outing of the Protestant-fellows of that Colledge; *Bartram* and *Grimes*, two Monks; *Fitzpatrick*, an *Irish* Serjeant of *Granadiers*; *Langhorn*, who had been Chaple-keeper to the late King; *Lee*, *Gage*, *Mackarty*, *Aubery*, *Smithson*, and some others. And the same Evening a Council was held at *Whitehal*, the Lord-Keeper being present, and there the first three were examined, and then remanded to the Custody of the Captain of the Guard till *Monday-morning*, when they were committed by Warrant of High-Treason to *Newgate*, for Imagining, Contriving and Compassing the Death of the King, &c. And Warrants were with all speed sent out to apprehend Others lurking about the Town, or retired into the Country: and by the Providence of G O D, there were few of them, but in a little time, fell into the Hand of Justice; many of whom I shall have occasion to speak of hereafter. Hereupon his Majesty sent for the Lord-Mayor &c. and acquainted him with the Conspiracy, and the happy Discovery of it; also the intended Invasion from *France*, &c. ordering him to take care of the Peace of the City: Whereupon, returning, such effectual Care was taken by his Lordship's Prudence and Diligence, that nor the least Disturbance has since happened.

His



His Majesty desirous to communicate this weighty Affair to both Houses of Parliament, went to the House of Peers the 24th of Februa y, attended with the usual Solemnity, and seated in his Royal Robes on the Throne, the Commons being sent for, he made the following most Gracious Speech :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

**I** Am come hither this Day upon an Extraordinary Occasion, which might have proved Fatal, if it had not been disappointed by the Singular Mercy and Goodness of God; and may now, by the continuance of the same Providence, and our own Prudent Endeavours, be so Improved, as to become a sufficient warning unto us, to provide for our Security, against the pernicious Practices and Attempts of our Enemies.

I have Received several Concurring Informations of a design to Assassinate Me; and that our Enemies at the same time, are very forward in their preparations for a sudden Invasion of this Kingdom; and have therefore thought it necessary to lose no time in acquainting my Parliament with these things, in which the safety of the Kingdom, and Publick Welfare are so nea ly concerned: That I Assure my Self, nothing will be omitted on your part, which may be thought proper for our present or future Security.

I have not been wanting to give the necessary Orders for the Fleet; and I hope We have such a strength of Ships, and in such a readi-  
ness

ness, as will be sufficient to disappoint the Intentions of our Enemies.

I have also dispatched Orders, for bringing home such a Number of Our Troops as may Secure us from any Attempts.

Some of the Conspirators against my Person, are already in Custody, and care is taken to Apprehend so many of the rest as are discovered; and such other Orders are given, as the present Exigency of Affairs does Absolutely require at this time, for the Publick Safety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Having now Acquainted you with the Danger that hath Threatened Us, I cannot doubt of your Readiness and Zeal to do every thing which you shall judge proper for our Common Safety; and I perswade my Self, We must be all Sensible, how necessary it is in our present Circumstances, That all possible Dispatch should be given to the Business before you.

This Gracious Speech, highly pleased the Lords and Commons; so that His Majesty returning to Kensington; the latter returning to their House, with little or no Debate, *Nemine Contradicente*, Resolved, That an Humble Address should be presently drawn up, to Congratulate the Happy Deliverance and Safety of His Royal Person, &c. And in a short time the following Address was Agreed on by the Lords and Commons, both Houses having concerted the matter to make it but one Address; and the Lords sending to the Com-

Commons, to know if they were ready to go with them to wait upon his Majesty ; They immediately Adjourned, and between the Hours of Seven and Eight in the Evening, the following Loyal Address was presented to Him at *Kensington*, which He Graciously Received, viz.

Die Lunæ 24 February 1695.

*WE E* Your Majesty's Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in the present Parliament Assembled, Having taken into our serious Consideration, that Your Majesty hath been pleased to Communicate to us this day ; think it our Duty in the first Place, To give Your Majesty most humble Thanks, for having Acquainted Your Parliament, with the Great Danger Your Sacred Person hath been Exposed to, and the design of an Invasion from our Enemies Abroad: We heartily Congratulate Your Majesty's Preservation, and Thankfully Acknowledge the Signal Providence of God in it ; and at the same time, Declare our Detestation and Abhorrence of so Villanous and Barbarous a Design ; and since the Safety of Your Majesty's Dominions, do so entirely depend upon Your Life, We must humbly beseech Your Majesty, to take more than ordinary care of Your Royal Person, and We take this occasion to assure your Majesty of our utmost Assistance to Defend Your Person and Support Your Government, against the Late K. James, and all other Your Enemies,  
both

both at Home and Abroad; hereby Declaring to all the World; That in case Your Majesty shall come to any violent Death (which God forbid) We will Revenge the same upon all Your Enemies and their Adherents; and as an instance of our Zeal for Your Majesty's Service, we will give all possible dispatch to the Publick Business; and we make it our desire to Your Majesty, to seize and secure all Persons, Horses and Arms, that Your Majesty may think fit to Apprehend upon this occasion.

The King having received this Address, with the wonted Satisfaction of former Addresses, from his Parliament, Returned this Gracious Answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

**I** Thank you heartily for this kind Address: On my Part, you may be Assured, I will do all that is in my Power for the Preservation of this Kingdom, to which I have so many Obligations; I will readily venture my Self for the Preserving of it, and Recommend my Self to the continuance of your Loyalty and Good Affections.

And the Honorable House of Commons, to express their Zeal for his Majesty's Preservation, in imitation of what had been done, or something near it, in Queen Elizabeth's days, when many Plots and Conspiracies were contrived against her; Resolved upon an Association to lie upon the Table, and in order to be Signed by the Members, viz.

WHERE AS

**WHEREAS** There has been a Horrid and Detesta'le Conspiracy, Formed and Carried on by Papists and other Traterous and wicked Persons, for Assassinating His Majesty's Royal Person, in order to Encourage an Invasion from France, to Subvert our Religion, Laws and Liberty; We whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, Do Heartily, Sincerely and Solemnly, Profess, Testify and Declare, That His Present Majesty, King WILLIAM, is Rightful and Lawful King of these Realms; and we do mutually promise and engage to stand by and Assist each other, to the utmost of our Power, in the Support and Defence of His Majesty's Most Sacred Person and Government, against the late K. James and all his Adherents: And in case His Majesty come to any Untimely or Violent Death (which God forbid) We do hereby, further, freely and unanimously oblige our selves to Unite, Associate and stand by each other, in Revenging the same upon His Enemies and their Adherents, in Supporting and Defending the Succession of the Crown, according to an Act made in the First Year of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary; Entituled, An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Settling the Succession of the Crown.

After this, they proceeded to Resolve, *Nemine Contradicente*, That leave be given to bring in a Bill, That whenever it shall please God to Afflict these Realms, by the Death  
of

of His Present Majesty, the Parliament then in being, shall not be Dissolved thereby, but shall continue until the next Heir to the Crown in Succession, according to the late Act of Settlement, shall dissolve the same. And this Bill being brought in, soon passed into an Act, to the great disappointment of our Enemies for the future, and the Renowning the Memory of a Parliament that Enacted it to all Posterity.

Nor were the Lords slow in Entering into an Association, which varied from that of the Commons, only instead of the word (*King William is Rightful and Lawful King*) Their Lordships incerted, *That His Present Majesty King William, hath a right by Law to the Crown of this Realm, and that neither the late King James, nor the pretended Prince of Wales, nor any other Person, hath any Right whatsoever to the same, &c.*

This Good Example thus set on foot, that made the Great Queen *Elizabeth* so easie in her Throne, and conduced to the Happiness of her Long and Quiet Reign, was soon followed by the greater part of the Kingdom, So that it would puzzle a good Arithmetician to name any City or Corporation, between this and the *Tweed*, that has not signed the like; whereby His Majesty, to His great Satisfaction, has been made sensible, how much he stands Engaged in the Love of his People.

Whilst these Precautions were taken at Home, the Fleet under the Command of Admiral *Russel*, was got to Sea, and stood to the



the Coast of *France* with about Sixty Men of War, besides Fire-Ships Bomb-Catches and Tenders, to the great Consternation of the intending Invadors, who instead of putting out, Retreated from him, and sheltered themselves behind the *Reesbank, Flemish Sands* and in *Callice Road*; so that we had Advice, that 16 of their Men of War, Four of them carrying 70 Guns, being got among the *Flats* and *Flemish Sands*, had wrought themselves as near as they could to the Peer Head of *Dunkirk*, where they lay with Yards and Top-masts struck; that it was believed, to lighten their Ships, they had taken out some of their Guns, that many of their Transport Ships were beaten and broke on the Sands, and those at *Calis* shrunk so together for fear of our Fire-Ships and Light Frigats, that entangling, they disorderd and disabled each other; the *Gerisy* Privateers, and some other Frigats, took 17 of their Victuallers, who knowing nothing that they were blocked up, were coming to them from *Brest* and other places, Laden with Wine, Brandy and other necessities, to render them Lusty and Courageous when they Landed in *England*; some Light-Frigats stood in and Battered the outermost of this formidable Armado, took some, fired others, and made them again run upon the *Flats* and *Shallows*, where they were obliged to continue, so that all on a sudden, Providence so ordered it, that the Invaders found themselves Invaded, and in great distress; and tho the Court of *France* had timely notice of it by several

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Couriers (who before had been so assured of the Success, that in easie slighting terms, they said, *King James was not gone to Invade, but to take possession of his Kingdoms.*) They industriously cocealed it from most, lest the melancholly News should spoil their Jubilee, as it frustrated their Mighty Expectations, and make them see their mountain of Wonders had at last brought forth a Ridiculous Mouse.

That they were knowing of the Conspiracy against the King's Life, and waited a Signal, by Fire, to be given from *Dover*, to their Privateers who tended thereabouts in expectation of it, and to carry the News to the Fleet as a Signal for their Sailing when they knew the King was dispatch'd; seems somewhat plain from the expression of a great French Officer in his Letter to a Friend, *viz.* *That they wondred they heard no News of the Death of the Prince of Orange (so they only stile King Will<sup>m</sup>) seeing he has been so long at the last Extremety.* And a Popish Priest, as I am informed, having some compassion of his Countrey, being an *English-man* (for no doubt some of them have Consciences) told a Gentleman, that was preparing to come over, *That He pittied England with all his heart, considering what Calamities it must of necessity groan under, when oppressed by French Tyranny; which he then conceived unavoidable for it to escape, and seemed to hint, as if he was not ignorant of the wicked design on the King's Life; saying, The whole Nation would be a miserable Field of Blood.*

But

But the Priest it seems is no more a Conjuror than the French King, for both of them were much out in the Assurance they had of the Success; nor had it been so easie a thing as they fancied, to effect their design, had Providence permitted them to have Landed; for though their Preparations might have been sufficient for a Surprize, yet it cannot be thought they were near enough for the Conquest of Three Kingdoms; so that they never talked a word in *France*, of Conquering *England*, but only Seconding a formed Party which they supposed ready to declare for the late King, and powerful enough to draw the whole Nation along with them: Besides, it was a Riddle to most, before it was expounded, That such a Design should be laid when the King was in *England*, when the Nation was *Assembled* in Parliament, and deliberating with all the liberty and freedom that ever their Predecessors enjoyed; I say, that at such a time, they should think them weary of their Liberty; and at the point of their Greatest and most Glorious Efforts for the Common Cause and the Liberty of *Europe*, they should, as it were, in a Frolick, call in the French to succour them in the swift Destruction of what they had been so long Erecting; so that by this, we may see Treachery was their aim to carry on their designs, and not main Force: I deny not, and it is evident, that some, even *Englishmen* (pardon me that I give them that Glorious Epethite) would have joyned them in  
the

the Ruine of their Country, if it could have been Desolated by their endeavours; yet let me have Charity to believe, the number of these Desperadoes were so few, that in a fair Field against a Victorious Prince, at the head of his Loyal Subjects, whose number is too difficult to be reckoned up, they would have purchaced their Rashness at a dear Repentance; so that all that can be inferred, is, that their main and almost only hopes of Success, was in the success of their Ruffians in basely and cowardly taking away the most Precious Life in the World; thereby thinking not only to shun His Courage, who has so often beat them on their own Frontiers; but by the sudden fall of so Excellent a Prince, to have put His Mournful Subjects, into such a Confusion and Consternation, that might have worked to their Advantage.

But leaving the Great Armado of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, Blocked up, which, no doubt, as the Spaniards once before had done, he termed the *Invincible*, to as little purpose; Let me look back a little and see what becomes of the Scampering Conspirators.

The King, for the speedy Apprehending of such as were fled from Justice, was not wanting in time, nor sparing in Rewards, but in his Great Prudence Issued out His Royal Proclamation, in the Form following:

*Whereas*

*Whereas His Majesty hath Received Information upon Oath, that the Persons herein after Named, have, with divers other wicked and Traiterous Persons, entered into a Horrid and Detestable Conspiracy, to Assassinate and Murder His Majesty's Sacred Person; for which cause, several Warrants for High Treason have been Issued out against them, but they have withdrawn themselves from their usual places of Abroad, and are fled from Justice; His Majesty hath therefore thought fit, by the Advice of His Privy Council, to Issue this His Royal Proclamation, and His Majesty doth hereby Require all His Loving Subjects, to Discover, Take and Apprehend, James Duke of Berwick, Sir George Barkley, Major Lowick, George Porter, Capt. Stow, Capt. Walbank, Capt. James Courtney, Lieut. Sherburne, Brice Blare, — Dinant — Chambers, — Boise, George Higgins, and his two Brothers, Sons to Sir T. Higgins Davis, Cardel Goodman, Cranburne, — Keys, — Pendergros, alias Pendargrais, — Bryerly, — Trevor, Sir George Maxwell, — Durance a Fleming Christopher Knightly, Lieutenant King, — Holmes, Sir William Perkins, — Rookwood, where-ever they may be found, and to carry them before the next Justice of the Peace or Chief Magistrate, who is hereby required to commit them to the next Goal, and their to remain, until they be delivered by due course of Law; and His Majesty does require the said*

*Ju-*

Justice or Magistrate, immediately to give notice thereof to Him or His Privy Council: And for the prevention of the going of the said Persons, or of any other into Ireland, or other parts beyond the Seas; His Majesty does hereby Require and Command all his Officers of the Customs and other His Officers and Subjects, of and in all respective Ports and Maritime Towns and Places within His Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, that they and every of them in their respective stations and places be careful and diligent in the Examination of all Persons who shall pass or endeavour to pass beyond the Seas, and that they do not permit any person whatsoever to go into Ireland, or other places beyond the Seas, without a Pass under His Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, until further Orders, and if they shall discover the Persons above named or either of them, then to cause them to be Apprehended and Secured, and to give notice as aforesaid: And His Majesty does hereby publish and declare, to all persons who shall conceal the persons afovenamed or any of them, or be aiding and assisting in the concealing of them or furthering their escape, that they shall be proceeded against for such their offence with the utmost severity according to Law: And for the Encouragement of all Persons to be diligent and careful in endeavouring to discover and apprehend the said persons, We do hereby further declare, That whosoever shall Discover and Apprehend the persons above named, or any of them, and shall bring them before

before some Justice of the Peace or Chief Magistrate, as aforesaid, shall have and receive, as a Reward, the sum of One Thousand Pounds, which said sum of One Thousand Pounds the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury are here y required and directed to pay accordingly; and if any of the Persons above named, shall discover and apprehend any of their Accomplices, so as they may be brought to Justice, his Majesty does hereby declare, That every Person making such Discovery, shall have his Majesty's Gracious Pardon for his Offence, and shall receive the Reward of One Thousand Pounds, to be paid as aforesaid.

And such good effect had this Proclamation on the diligence of the People, that between the 24th and 29th of February, divers were taken, and among others the three Higginfes, Brothers, and Sons to Sir Thomas Higginf, Cardel, Goodman the Player, Sherburn and Knightly, and divers Suspicious Persons were secured, not mentioned in this Proclamation; and soon after there was news that the Duke of Berwick, who had been at London and other places to make a Faction, got away into France by the help of an Owl, before the Plot was discovered; and indeed as appears by the Intelligence he carryed to the Late King and French Court, he was ignorant what a strange turn Providence had made in so short a time; nor was it long before Sir William Perkins was taken at a Chamber in the Temple, and committed to

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Newgate



*Newgate*, where Sir *John Friend*, and others of his old Acquaintance were got before him, and at his house in *Warwick-shire*, in a Garden, under the Wall, was found Three Boxes of Arms, viz. Pistols, Carbines, and Swords, almost enough to mount a Troop; of which, and the manner of their Discovery, I shall have occasion to speak more, when I come to make some Inferences from his Tryal: *Stow* and *Rookwood* had put themselves in Spunging-Houses, under the notion of Fob-Actions, where the latter was discovered by one *Harrice* his Accomplice, who was sent from *France* to obey the Orders of Sir *George Berklay*, whom he should find in *Covent-Garden*, by the token of a *White Hankerschief* hanging much out of his Pocket, and accordingly by that token he found him, and he and one *Hare* who came over with him (on the like recommendation, and great promises of what should be done for them, by reason of the faithful Service they had shewed, being Troopers in the late King's Guard) were entertained by Sir *George*, or his Order, the one having four Shillings a day allowed, and promised six when he had a Horse; but it appears when he came to hear that his business he was sent over about, was to be assisting in the Assassination of the King; he concluded, instead of the Advancement promised him for his good Service, he was sent over to be Sacrificed; yet although he engaged in the Detestable Design making some Atonement by his discovering his Colleague, and



a Free Confession, as a warning for the future ; he had this time the good Luck to meet with Sparing Mercy by laying hold on the benefit of his Majesty's Proclamation. But the Prisons were so Crowded that a Guard of the Trained-Bands of the City of *London*, was ordered, to take care of *New-gate* to prevent Escapes, or any Mischief that might happen in attempts of Rescue ; and a special care was taken of other Prisons, to the same purpose : Besides these, divers were in Custody of Messengers, and People were everywhere very dilligent to Apprehend, and carry before Majestrates, Persons suspected to be ill Affected to the present Government ; such as Apprehended any of those, whose Names were mentioned in his Majesty's Proclamation, were punctually paid without delay, which made others more industrious in the Country as well as about the Town ; so that a great Number of Persons and Horses were Seized there, and detained till a good Account should be given of either of them ; and because some Disputes in Claim of the promised Reward, arose among the Apprehenders of the Conspirators, mentioned in the Proclamation, the better to deside this, and put a Legal End to the Controversies, notice was given in the *Gazette* the 16th of *March*, to make and prove their respective Claims in the following manner.

*Whereas* several Persons have by their Petitions, Humbly prayed, that they may receive the Reward, promised by his Majesty's Proclamation the 23<sup>d</sup> of February, for Apprehending some of the Conspirators therein named, It is ordered by the Council, that publick Notice be given, that all Persons having any Claim to the Reward, or any part thereof, for Discovering or Apprehending any of the said Conspirators, do Lodge their respective Claims with the Clark of the Council, in Writing, before Monday the 23<sup>d</sup> of this instant March, and that they Attend on that day, in order to be heard thereupon. That direction may be given for the Immediate Payment of the same Reward to the Respective Person, to whom the same shall Appear of right to belong.

And accordingly such as made their Claims good, had their Moneys paid out of his Majesty's Treasury of Exchequer. And because there had a great Number of Papists, or such as were Suspected to be so, observed of late to flock to the Cities of London, Westminster, and their Suburbs, His Majesty Issued out this Proclamation for Remoying them, being Humbly Addressed to do it by the Commons Assembled in Parliament, strictly to charge and command all Popish Recusants, Natives or Denizons, being above the Age of sixteen, that they according to the Statute in that behalf made, do repair to their respective Abodes, and if they have none, then

then to the places where their Respective Father or Mother is or shall be dwelling, and do not thereafter remove, or pass above five miles from thence. And his Majesty does likewise charge and command all Papists, and Persons so reputed to be, except Merchant-Strangers, Settled House-keepers, and other Persons excepted in the Statute made in this behalf, on or before the tenth day of *March* next, to depart out of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and from all places within ten miles of the same, &c.

By this Proclamation likewise, the Magistrates were commanded to make strict and diligent search within the space Limited, and to proceed against all such, as should presume to stay after the time mentioned, that were not Qualified for it; and Tender them the Declaration, in an Act made (for Removing Papists, from the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and ten miles distance,) in the first Year of his present Majesty, and of the late Queen *Mary*, of blessed Memory; and to proceed thereupon, according to another Act made in the said first Year, Entituled, *An Act for the better Securing the Government, by D. s. rming Papists, and Reputed Papists*. And where they shall find or be Informed of any persons, who by reason of Conversation, Discourses, or other Demcanor, shall be Suspected, not to be well Affected to his Majesty's Government, they shall Tender the Oath Appointed, in an Act made the said first Year, Entituled, *An Act for the*

*Abrogating the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, appointing other Oaths.* And upon the refusal to take the same, due Prosecution be made thereupon. The Justices to keep Entries, or Records of such their Proceedings in order to the Tendering the said Oath again to the Persons so Refusing, Commanding Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace to meet Monthly, and to inform themselves of the Affairs of their Respective Counties and Divisions, in Relation to the Premises, and take special care to preserve the Peace and prevent all unlawful Meetings, and Assemblies, against his Majesty and his Government. And that from time to time, they give Information of their Proceedings and Discoveries, to the Lords of His Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council.

Nor was effectual care upon the Issuing out of this Proclamation wanting, the Deputy Lieutenants for the County of *Midlesex*, met and signed Warrants for the seizing of Papist and other disaffected Persons, with their Horses and Arms, as likewise all Horses suspected to appertain to such Persons, till the Owners shall appear and make it out to the contrary; and soon after this courie was taken all over *England*. The *Scotts* Nobility, who had any management of Affairs in that Kingdom, and were at Court, had orders to repair home, and take care of the Peace of *Scotland*, it not appearing otherwise, but the design was laid there as well as here, and such effectual care was there taken, that divers suspected

suspected Persons were seized, Papists disarmed, and all other vigilance necessary observed; for the Duke of *Berwick* had boasted, it seems upon his return, that *Scotland* was prepared as well as *England*, when any Forces should be Landed there, to Encourage the Desperadoes of that Nation to an Insurrection; and the French King seemed cock sure of this, though grandly mistaken in the main, when he sent his Letter to Monsieur D' *Avouaux*, his Ambassador in *Sweden*, about the intended Expedition of the late King *James*, viz.

*The strong Desires I ever had to Improve every favourable opportunity that shall occur of contributing to the King of England's Restoration, has obliged me to order, at his request, some Troops to march towards the Sea-Coasts, to be ready to embarke and follow that Prince into England in case of an Insurrection there, confirms the advice he has a long time since received of the Fideliry of many of his Subjects, and the great desire they have to be headed by him, with the general Discontent the whole Nation expresses against the Prince of Orange's Government: If the Event does not answer his Expectation, Europe however shall see, that I am always ready to assist a Prince forsaken by all those whom the Interest of Crowned Heads ought to support.*

But how far *Lewis* the XIV. was imposed on to believe, That His Majesty's Subjects, whom in his Letter he stiles only Prince of *Orange*, were discontented with His Government,

ment, plainly appears, to the loss of his vast expended Treasure ; and the sense of shame he must have, if ever any blushes for base actions dyed his cheeks, for being so imposed on, baffled and defeated, not only in his Enterprize, but to be laughed at for his Boastings and false notions to Forreign Courts : However, his Minister in *Sweden*, spared not to magnifie his Master on this account, as soon as he thought it was convenient to devulge his project, supposing it too far carried to be prevented by any intelligence ; but when the news came to that Northern Court, That all was dashed, and particularly of the basely intended Assassination of King *William*, to favour his design, he was looked on with contempt and detestation ; and the Ambassadour was told, *All Princes in such a case ought to look to themselves, if those Practices were used, or to this effect ; but Auou* excused it as well as he could, denying his Master knew any thing of the intended Assassination, but that out of a generous Compassion to a Prince under his Protection, he had endeavoured to re-establish him in his Throne ; but since the design had unluckily miscarry'd, there was no further fear for any one of his Naval Preparations by way of Invasion, for he had ordered the Land-Forces to disembark, and the Ships mostly to be laid up or dispersed into the several Ports from whence they came : But whether he had done this or not, the *English* were not wanting to look narrowly after them ; and had it

not



not been for the *Sands* and *Shallows*, he need not have taken much care of sending his Ships into the Ports from whence they had been gathered to make our Coasts a visit. However, our Bomb-Vessels being come to the Fleet, *Callis* was set on Fire in divers places, by the throwing in of Shells, to make a Bonfire for the joyful Discovery of the Designs they had carryed on against us; and that Town, as others had been before, had sunk in its ruins, could the Vessels have come near enough, and the weather favoured them, but the Sea running high, and too soon ebbing, caused them to draw off too soon: however it alarmed all the Country thereabouts, and made them see their mighty Preparations had turned to their disadvantage as well as disgrace; and that our Maritime-Affairs might be forwarded to our Advantage and the future Disappointment of our Enemies. Being our Wooden Walls are chiefly the Nation's strength, and that they cannot be managed with ut able hands, his Majesty published His Proclamation, for the Encouragement of all such Seamen, and able bodied Land-Men, as should voluntarily enter themselves in his Majesty's Service on board the Men of War, or Fire-Ships, or any Pressed Vessel or Tenders belonging to the Fleet, at *Portsmouth*, the *Downs*, the *Boy in the Nore*, *Thames* or *Medway*, that they should receive as His Majesty's Free Gift and Royal Bounty each able and ordinary Seaman, three Months Pay, and each able Landman, one Months

Pay, to be payed to them by or before the first day of *May*, &c.

This Encouragement occasioned great numbers to enter themselves on Board; and the better to keep under disaffected Persons, an Act passed the Royal Assent, Impowering His Majesty to Apprehend and Detain such Persons as he shall find cause to suspect are Conspiring against His Royal Person and Government.

Several Noblemen, as I told you, having taken leave of the Court, and return'd to *Scotland*, in order to secure the Peace of that Kingdom; such measures were taken, that considerable Forces were ordered to be in a readiness (if any Attempt should be made) as able to suppress it, and all Precautions taken to hinder the Male contents joyning in any body, Persons Travelling toward the Sea-Coasts being examined, and the Earl of *Hume* and divers others suspected, were secured, the People in general expressing their high Resentments of the Intended Assassination and Invasion; and expressing their willingness to venture their Lives and Fortunes for the preservation of His Majesty's Sacred Person and Government, against all Conspirators and Invaders; and for a forwarding of their Zeal and Loyalty, the following Proclamation was Published at *Edenburgh*, and other Cities and Burg-Towns.

William

William, by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, To Masters of our Privy Council, Messengers at Arms, our Sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally specially constitute Greetings: Whereas the merciful Providence of God to us and our Kingdoms, hath discovered a most wicked and horred Conspiracy to Assassinate our Royal Person, which was designed to have been acted before an Invasion, which is intended from France, for the ruining our Religion and all that is dear to our Good Subjects; we with the Advice of the Lords of our Privy Council, have thought fit upon this occasion to require, likewise we do require all our Loving Subjects to be in a readiness, as they shall receive Orders from our Privy Council, with their best Horse and Arm, to defend against any such horrid Invasion from France, and against the Attempts which may be made by Enemies, and Evil-affectad Persons at Home: And thereby require all our Loving Subjects, especially your Magistrates, Justices of Peace, Collectors of our several Sea-Ports, and upon the Borders, to stop and seize all Persons coming into this our ancient Kingdom, who have not sufficient Passes under one of the Secretaries of State for either of the Kingdoms of Scotland, or England, or under the Lieutenant of Ireland, their Hands, &c.

Upon this the Western-shiers of Scotland,  
Proposed to Raise for his Majesty's Service,  
8000.

8000 Men in eight days, to be employed, were he would be pleased to order them.

Thus *Scotland* took as timely Care, as the notice would allow, to prevent the threatened Danger, and proceeded so effectually, that I do not hear the least Disturbance has happened in that Kingdom.

As for *Ireland*, it is somewhat in the Dark as yet: whether the *French King*, or the late *King James*, had any considerable Reliance on a Party there, because that to be Commiserated Nation, had Smarted by their drawing it for the most part into a Rebellion before. However, the Lord-Lieutenant had the News no sooner communicated to him, but all diligent Care was taken, to Secure Suspected Persons, and such Precautions used, as might Frustrate any Attempt.

So that if the *French* Boast of their Secrecy in carrying on their Design; we may truly say, never more Prudence and Conduct was used, than what his Majesty has shewn, in Preventing and Defeating all their Measures; being in so direct a Line, moving with such a Swiftmess, and certainly that all his Historians must Record it to the last Posterity, that next to God, he has doubly been our Deliverer.

And here I may farther note, That not only Private Caballs, or Meetings at Taverns, Clubs, but even Private Pulpits, or unlawful Meetings, under the Umbrage of Religious Worship threatned us with terrible Dissolution and Destruction, by Non-Jurant Parsons  
for

for the purpose, perverting the Scripture-  
 fence, the better to encourage or impose on  
 the Auditors, for in an exempt Chappel, one  
 Preached on these Words, *Jer. 24. 10. And*  
*I will send the Sword and Famine, and Pe-*  
*stilence among them, till they be consumed from*  
*off the Land that I gave unto them, and to*  
*their Fathers.* And near the time of the in-  
 tended Assassination, on these Words, *Jer.*  
*46. 10 For this is the Day of the Lord God*  
*of Hosts, a day of Vengeance, that he may*  
*avenge himself of his Adversaries, and the*  
*Sword shall devour, and it shall be satisfied*  
*and made drunk with their Blood; for the*  
*Lord God of Hosts hath a Sacrifice in the North-*  
*Country by the River Euphrates.*

I shall make no Inference from this, but  
 leave it to believed, whether the Text's  
 were chosen at random, or purposely; if the  
 latter, passing over Reflections, I dont know  
 whether it might not be to the same Tune  
 that the Popish Priests held forth a little be-  
 fore the Gunpowder-Plot was discovered, in  
 the fifth year of the Reign of King James  
 the first, viz. *They shall go away like Blift,*  
*and mount like a Sinoak; they shall feel a ter-*  
*rible Blow, and not know who hurt them, &c.*

And that this Conspiracy was not known  
 to a few beyond the Seas, who were to make  
 all the Friends they could in England, appears  
 by a passage in a Letter sent by Mr. Trinder  
 to his Nephew, a Captain in the Earl of  
 Arran's Regiment, Dated at Paris, Feb. 7.  
 1685, viz.

Sir

SIR,  
N O *withstanding your great Confidence in  
your Heroe, and your great Ingratitude to  
your Friend, your Repentance shall not be too  
late, if the Effects of it appear within a Month  
after the receipt of this Advertizement, from  
your Friend,* J. T.

So that by it there seems something to be gathered, that they laboured to corrupt the Officers of his Majesty's Forces, and indeed, they left no Stone unturned that they thought might be for their Advantage; for his Attonement in some Construction appears, he should upon the Landing have carried over his Troop; but the Captain's Loyalty to the present Government is too well grounded, and approved, to be shaken by such slender Artifices; for he made it known as soon as it came to his Hands, and thought it might seem to contain in it something of Mystery, yet the Plot no sooner broke out but the Riddle was expounded.

When the *French King* had certain Notice that the Design was discovered, and our Ships were in great numbers on his Coast, and a great many, the late King *James* had relied on in *England*, were secured, he grew very Melancholly, which like a Contagion spread swiftly among his Courtiers, but having shaken off his first Surprise, and putting a better Face on the Matter, he laboured to comfort others, and declared, he had neglected nothing to King *James*, having given all  
AC



Assistance, and number of Forces he wanted, but that he was an Unfortunate Prince in his Enterprizes and Undertakings, as has been evident in most of his Affairs; and it appears by Foreign Advices, that lucky Disappointment has broke all the Measures of the *French* Court.

The Earl of *Ath'one*, with the Generals *Swerin* and *Cohorn*, marched to *Givet* on the 14th (New Stile) with 18000 Horse and Foot, twelve pieces of Cannon, and ten Mortars, and with throwing in Bombs, and Fire-Bullets destroyed a great part of the Town, and burnt a vast Magazine laid up to supply an early Campaign on that side, containing great stores of Forrage, Provisions and Ammunition, amounting in all to three Millions of Rations, and as much as would have served 50000 men for three months; and 'tis further added, that this caused another disappointment, viz. The *French* King reckoned himself so sure of the Design upon *England*: that he intended in Person to have been at *Mons* on the 25th of *March*, and to have Encamped an Army at *Limbeck*, near *Hall*, where the Engeniers and Quartermasters had marked out a Camp, either to have undertaken some Siege of Importance, or to have invaded *Flanders*, as he should have found it most convenient; but now his going is little talked of, and his Troops move slowly to take the Field, the mighty Preparation for Maritime-Affairs are at a stand, and the People every where murmure at there Oppressions

preffions, considering they can see no end of  
 the Extortions and Taxes imposed on them ;  
 the Sale of Honours and Promotions meets  
 with but few Purchasers, and consequently  
 turn to an inconsiderable Account in relation  
 to the large Expectations the Court had  
 from that Project to raise Moneys for the  
 carrying on the War. Their Troops before  
 the happy discovery, were likewise in motion  
 on the *Meuse*, which is said was onely to  
 cover their design upon *England*, and they  
 after gave out at *Dinant*, and other Frontier  
 places, that King *William* was kill'd, a Hunt-  
 ing, and that King *James* thereupon was  
 Embarqued for *England*, to possess himself  
 of his three Crowns, alledging, that it was  
 impossible his design should miscarry ; and  
 boasted, that upon the success, they should  
 be able to make such a diversion in *Germany*,  
 and the *Netherlands*, as would oblige the  
 Confederates to accept of a Peace upon their  
 Terms ; and it seems, the late King's Emis-  
 saries were raising Men in other Parts, for  
 Captain *Graham* was seized at *Hamborough*,  
 where he had privately got one ship, and  
 listed twenty Men for the late King's Service,  
 to seize others, and come away by stealth ;  
 but in the mean while he was seized, his de-  
 sign discovered, and he made a close Prisoner  
 till the King of *England's* Pleasure should be  
 further known, whether he should be sent  
 over, or tryed there : And further than  
 what I have told you of the Agreement be-  
 tween the *French* King, and the late King  
*James*

*James* on his coming to a Result to invade *England*,

It is said, that the latter agreed with the former, to renounce all Pretensions, and Claims, which he, or his Ancestors had, or ought to have to the Crown of *France*, and that as soon as he with Safety, or Convenience could do it, he would leave it out of his Title, and the Arms of *France* out of his Escutcheon, on condition that the *French* King and his Heirs should duly assist him and his Heirs against the Rebellions of his Subjects, when his, or their Affairs should so require it; and further agreed to put three Cautionary-Towns, one for each Kingdom, into his Hands, for performance of Articles, repayment of Monies borrowed, and Charges, &c. The *French* King engaging at the same time to use his utmost endeavour to kindle a War in *Germany*, either by fomenting the Differences between the King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Holstein*, or in encreasing the Jealousies between the Protestants and Papists, about the ninth Electorate; also to improve the Differences between the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch*, in denying *Monsieur Schonenburg* the usual Privileges of other Forreign Ministers, and to alarm the *Switz-Cantons*, and Princes of *Italy* by laying Siege to *Geneva*, or some other place, so that the Allies should be little capable of giving much Assistance, if any, to *England* assuring him that the Emperor was very unsuccessful in Levies, both of men and money, and

and that he would take care to divert the *Spaniard* in *Catalonia*, and raise a Jealousie between *Portugal* and *Spain*.

These things notwithstanding were but in *Embrio*, and it is thought he will never be able to bring them to any perfect Birth; the Design was laid to his advantage well enough, could he have made it good, but it has had so bad a beginning, that reasonable People are apt to believe the Prudence of those Princes, and States, will altogether frustrate the rest.

The Colledge of Jesuits, it is said, were deep in encouraging the late King's Attempt, so that two of their number, and a Hundred Secular Priests in Officers Habits were to attend him in his Expedition, and to bring with them a considerable quantity of Relicks and other such like Trumpery, also among other things the Image of *St. Victor*, which was sent into *France* by the Queen of *Poland*, with a Legend of its miraculous Effects, against the Infidels and Hereticks; That the late King's Followers were so confident of Success, that they discoursed of taking Debentures upon Places and Estates in *England*, so that there was scarcely a place of Value that was not promised to one or other; and it is reported that the Jesuits had begged *Chelsea* Colledge for their Society, that so they might be near the Court to give Council in important Affairs; that most of the Religious Houses in *Paris*, had ventured little or more for the Encouragement of the Expedition; that the Town-House had ad-  
vanced

vanced 300000 Livers on an Instrument Signed by the late King, to repay it in six Months at a set Interest; That divers Bankers and Marchants of that City, had ventured considerably in Goods, appointing their Sons or Prime Servants *super Cargo*, they being promised an Exemption from Customs or other Duties, and the *French* King promised them the like at their return to *France*, for the first time; and such of the late King's Retinue as had moneys to spare, layed it out in *French* Goods, such as they thought would vend to the best advantage in *England*, or the other Kingdoms appertaining to it; for it seems the Duke of *Berwick* had it in Charge to sollicite such of the *Scotch* Nobility as were in the late King's Interest, to be ready to appear, in order to head the Maiecontents in that Kingdom, and make them fall into Rebellion as soon as they should have notice the *French* were Landed in *England*, also to promise them some of the best *French* Officers, to assist in managing and commanding their Troops. But whether he had such Assurance from them as he boasted, I cannot determine, yet certain it is, the disappointment proved no less there than here; for upon the Discovery of the Design, suspected Persons were secured; and the Right Honourable the Lords of His Majesty's Privy-Council in *Scotland*, the Lord *Provost*, with other Magistrates, and Common-Council of *Edinburgh*, to express their Loyalty and Zeal against all *Conspirators* and *Invaders*, caused to be drawn up,

up, and sent to the Lord Ogilby, the following Addreses, to be by him presented to His Majesty. That of the Privy-Council was in these Words.

May it please your Majesty,  
*The surprizing Account we ha<sup>t</sup> by your Majesty's Lett to your Privy-Council, of the Barbarus and Villanous Design against your Royal Person, which God hath mercifully discovered, ob<sup>l</sup>igeth us most humbly to acknowledge the Goodness of that God, by whose watchful Eye, and Almighty Hand, your Majesty hath been Protected and Preserved, and as this detestable Villany hath been frustrated, so likewise we hope that all designs of your Enemies to Invade your Kingdom, shall, by the Blessing of God upon your Majesty's Endeavours, be disappointed.*

*The manifold Blessings we have enjoyed under Your Majesty's Happy Government, obliges us upon this occasion to renew the hearty and sincere Offers of our Lives and Fortunes to assist and maintain Your Majesty against all your Enemies, both at Home and Abroad.*

And indeed the generality of the Scottish Nation express an extraordinary Joy for the happy discovery of the Conspiracy, and his Majesty's providential Delivery from the Hands of the Blood-thirsty Assassins, shewing their highest resentments and indignation against the Contrivers and Promoters of such base and treacherous Practices.

Divers



Divers other Disaffected and Suspected Persons were Secured ; and a Proclamation issued for the raising one halt of the Foot-Militia ; and Fencible Men ordered thereby to meet the 9th of *March* at the places of Rendezvous mentioned in their severl Shires, also naming the Officers who are to command them.

Another Proclamation for calling out all the Heriots, or Gentlemen of Estates, who are qualified, to meet with their best Horses and Arms the King's Host wherever it shall be, appointing days for their Rendezvous within their severl Shires; and also to command and require such as have been Officers Abroad since His Majesty's coming to the Crown, to come to *Edenburg*, and there give up their Names to the Privy Council, or Sir T. *Livingston*, so to be employed in such commands as they are fitly qualified for.

Thus the care and industry of the three Kingdoms, thro' the Blessing of God, defeated the Design of our Enemies, and exposed them to the Scorn of those Princes Courts were they boasted so confidently of their Success; and to make it yet more plain, how positive they were, take, as we find it advised from *Paris*, a further touch of it in the Negotiation the D. of *Orleance* had with the D. of *Savoy*, to bring that Prince over to the French Interests, viz.

This Duke, tho' Father-in-Law to the Duke of *Savoy*, having made many fruitless,

at-

attempts to engage his Royal Highness to quit his Interest with the Confederates, and embrace a new Alliance with *France*, upon advantageous Proposals, thought it convenient, some Days before the Conspiracy in *England* was discovered, to dispatch an Express to him at *Tu in*, his chief City, signifying in positive terms, that there was certain advice from *England*, that the Prince of *Orange* was at extremity, or at the point of Death, and that he believed, before that Express could reach him, they should hear of his Death; in which conjuncture, His Majesty of *Great Britain* (meaning the late K. *James*) by Directions of his Brother, the *French* King, was gone from *St. Germans* to *Callis*, there to Embark such a number of His Majesty's Forces as would be sufficient, by the assistance they should meet with in *England*, to re-instate him in his Throne; and that his most Christian Majesty, being also willing to improve so favourable an Opportunity, was putting himself at the Head of 100000 Men, in order to make an Invasion on the *Spanish Flanders*, designing to march directly to *Brussels*; and that the Scheme was so well lay'd by his Brother, that if he understood any thing of Martial Affairs, there was nothing could obstruct a compleat Conquest of the *Netherlands*; or, that it would at least, so far break the Measures of the Allies, if not the Bond of Confederacy, the ensuing Campaign, as once again, to enable His Most Christian Majesty, on his own

Terms,

Terms, to give Peace to *Europe*; and that he hoped this timely notice might be the more enforcing, whereby he, considering the dubious event of things, might consult his own Security e'er 'twas too late; assuring him, if he could make any speedy advance towards complying with His Majesty's Proposals for an Accommodation, himself would not be wanting to create a good Understanding between him and the King, for the Wellfare and Prosperity of the Duke, in reference to his Daughter, who was very precious to him; otherwise his Repentance hereafter might not be accepted.

But this between Flattery and Menace, as little prevailed with the Duke, as the former Cajolings had done, for he utterly rejected entering into any Alliance with *France*; for he well remembred the *French* had been Treacherous and Severe Task-masters over his Country in his Father's Time; and since his coming to the Government in Fortifying and Garisoning Towns to their own use, which they had extorted as Cautionary; and at the beginning of this War had had the Confidence to demand a great part of the strongest of those that remained to him, to be put into their Possession, in order to bind him to his Good-behaviour, as it may be termed, but in reality to secure him to their Interest by force; which he generously rejected, and prudently closed with the Interest of the Confederate Princes, to preserve his own Royal Dignity from a Matter,  
being

being set over him, and securing the Liberty and Advantage of his Subjects.

Thus have you heard the *French King's* Brother in plain words, without mincing; however, the sudden Expectation he had of *K. William's* Death, and the Assurance of the success, he rely'd on from it, and the intended Invasion, made him thus bold, which one should think would be enough to convince all obstinate Gainsayers, and take off the Mask they would so willingly keep on, to hide it from the vulgar part of the World.

Pardon me, Reader, if in this case I am constrained to make some Digressions, the better fully and fairly to clear the point, which some of our Adversaries at this Day are industriously labouring to darken with shadows of Evasion, and Clouds of their Ignorance, as being altogether unkuowing of what they are ashamed of, or at least ought to be to own, *v. z.* Their contriving and encouraging the intended Assassination of His Majesty's Royal Person, though as for the intended Invasion, they boldly and barefacedly own it; therefore let me lead you now to the Tryals of some of the intended Assassins, briefly to shew you what was proved against them.

An Indictment of High-Treason, for intending, compassing and imaging the Death of the King by a barbarous Assassination, in order to further and assist an Invasion into this Kingdom from *France*, and the Subversi-  
on

on of the Government, being found by the Grand Jury of *Middlesex* at *Hicks's-Hall*, against *Robert Charnock*, *Edward King*, and *Thomas Keyes*; they had timely Notice of it, and Counsel allowed to come to them in Prison, to prepare them for their Tryals; a Favour not granted in former Reigns.

On the 11th of *March* they were brought down from *Newgate*, to the *Sessions-House* in the *Old-Bailey*, to be tryed upon a special Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*; and the Court being sat, there were six Judges present, *viz.* The Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, the Lord Chief Justice *Treby*, the Lord Chief Baron *Ward*, Mr. Justice *Powel*, Mr. Justice *Nevil*, and Mr. Justice *Robeby*, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and a great many of the Nobility and Gentry.

The Prisoners being called, and set to the Bar, on their Arraignment the Indictment was read, containing a great deal more in Matter and Form than I have mentioned, to which, after their Objections were answered; (which were chiefly to put off their Tryals, for a further time to prepare, and to desire Council to plead for them, a Copy of the Indictment, &c.) they severally pleaded, Not Guilty, and for their Tryals put themselves upon God and their Country.

After this, at Mr. *Charnock's* Request, Pen, Ink, and Paper was allowed, and they had the Favour to have the Indictment read over in *Latin* twice, and had liberty given them to make their Challenges to the Jury severally of 35, without shewing any Cause,

as they should be called over to be Sworn, before they were Sworn; but after some Debate, they all agreed to one and the same Challenge, so saved the Court the trouble of Trying them single; and Mr. *Charnock*, whom they mostly relied on for their Spokesman, having a Copy of the Pannel in his hand, challenged 33, whereupon 12 were Sworn; Proclamation for Information was made, the Witnesses appeared, and the Indictment was again read; and Mr. *Montague*, one of the King's Council, opened the Nature of it, setting Forth the Fact contained in it, charged upon the Prisoners; after which Mr. Attorney-General proceeded to the like purpose more at large, tracing the Design of Assassinating the King, &c. from time to time; after which Capt. *Porter* was Sworn, and ordered by Mr. Solicitor-General, to give the Court and Jury an Account of what he knew concerning any Conspiracy about Assassinating the King, and when it was to be done, and where, and how, and by whom, and particularly what in it related to the Prisoners.

Upon this, Mr. *Charnock* desired the Witnesses might not be in the hearing of each other, but kept out of Court, till they were severally called to give their Evidence, which was accordingly ordered and done.

Upon this Capt. *Porter* deposed, That some Weeks before the Design was on foot, for the Assassination of the King, about the latter end of *January*, he was with Mr. *Charnock* and Sir *W. Parkins*, and hearing the latter ask the former



ormer, *Where he would be at Night?* He told them, *That if their Business was not private, he would be there:* and then he was told *That some Friends were come from France, and something was doing, that would be for the Service of the King:* Whereupon he undertook to engage in it, and then he was told, *He should know very soon what it was;* and soon after Mr. Charnock did acquaint him, *That Sir George Barklay, and those that came from France, had brought a Commission to raise and levy War upon the Person of King William;* asking him, *How many he could raise to joyn with them, if the King, (meaning the late King James) landed?* So he desired further time to consider of it, and Mr. Charnock told him, *Sir George Berklay would come to him about it, and accordingly he, and one Holmes, came to the House where he lodged, in Norfolk-street, and there they were private with Mr. Charnock, and Sir George told the Deponent, He was glad to see him in good Health, but sorry to find him lame;* as, indeed, he at that time was, of the Gout; but hoped in a little time to see him abroad: and after that, several Meetings were had, particularly at the *Globe Tavern in Hatton-Garden, at the Nag's-Head in St. James's-street, and the Sun Tavern in the Strand;* in all which places, they consulted the best way, and most convenient place to Assassinate the King, when he came from Hunting; and Sir George said, *He had some Money to buy Horses, as much as would furnish about 40;* and Charnock a-

greed to bring in 6 or 7 Men out of the Country ; Sir *William Parkins* promised to lend Five Horses, Three to be mounted by his own Men, the other by such as should be provided ; and the Deponent promised to bring 7 Men with Horses ; whereupon Sir *George* said, *That Lowick, and others that came over with him from France, would be engaged in the Design, to make up the Number :* and when he desired to see the Commission, and asked Mr. *Charnock* about it, he reply'd, *He never saw it ;* but Sir *William Parkins* informed him, he had seen it ; and that it was all writ with King *James's* own Hand, and signed by himself. These things being agreed on, Consultations were had, in what Method it was to be done ; and several Proposals were made, one to set upon the King, as he came from *Richmond* by the Road, others when he should be on Horseback at Cue : Sir *George* was for having it done by Ambuscade, in the Park by *Richmond*, and therefore desired the Deponent to go with *Knightley*, and take a view of the several Places and Grounds thereabout, to find out which was the most convenient place for executing the Design ; and the Day before he went over, King came to know, if he were to go about such a matter, and proffered to go with them ; and so they went to the Swan at *Knightsbridge*, and lay there, and went the next Day to view the Ground, and returned that Evening to their Company, and gave them an Account of it. Then they found Sir *George* had altered his Mind ;

so it was agreed to be done in a Lane coming from *Brentford* to *Turnham-Green*; in this manner, viz. Brigadier *Rookwood* was to Command a Party of Sir *George Berklay's* Men to Attack the Guards; also, he was to Command another Parry for the same purpose, and Sir *George* was to have four out of each Party to seize upon the King's Coach, and to shoot into it, and kill the King, and all those that were with him; and this was agreed to be done on the 15th of *February*, which was on a *Saturday*, a Day on which the King usually went to *Richmond*, and there were two Orderly Men (as they termed them) who were to Lodge at *Kensington*, viz. one *Chambers*, and *Eurant*, a *Fleming*; one duly to bring an Account when the Guards went out, and the other, when the King went, and when Notice should be given the King was gone, the Conspirators were to go by three or four in a Party, to prevent suspicion, and disperse themselves in several Inns about *Brentford* and *Turnham-Green*: Sir *George* was to be at the K. of *Bohemia's Head*, and a Man was ordered to give Notice to 'em, when the King landed, and then to give Notice to the rest, they were to form their several Bodies, and to take their Posts, as had been agreed on: and when the Deponent asked him, What he thought to do when the Business was over? he reply'd, *They need not fear any thing, but might go to Town and lie still; for there would be a sufficient Number ready from a road to assist them: that 4*

or 5000 French were to divert in Scotland ; and the King would be near the French Shoar with a sufficient Army. But this time they were disappointed by the King's not going abroad.

On Friday before the 22d of February, another time appointed for the Design, a Meeting was held at the *Sun Tavern* in the *Strand*, where, by reason of the former Disappointment, several of the Company expressed their fear of the Thing being discovered ; but being otherways satisfied, it was resolved to be put in practice on the 22d, being *Saturday* ; and Mr. *Charnock* said, He could not stay, because he should want some Men that were come up out of the Country on purpose ; and when the Deponent said, He feared his Horse was sick, Sir *William Parkins* undertook to furnish him with one, and said, He had sent to Mr. *Lewis*, that belonged to the *Earl of Feversham*, to procure some ; and the next Morning he sent him a Note by one *Cranburn*, that he had sent to Mr. *Lewis* ; and he said, He would help him to three Horses with Saddles, Holsters, and Pistols, desiring the List of his Men, which he sent him, and he sent back the List of his own, which he shewed to Mr. *De la Rue*, and then all things were preparing for the Execution of the Design ; but upon News that the King did not go out that Day, it was concluded, the Plot was discovered.

He further deposed, That Mr. *Charnock*, and Mr. *King*, were at the several Meetings  
men-

mentioned, and that *Keys* was at many of them, and had hired *Hories* for him to employ in the Business; on the 15th of *February* he hired two, and knew what Design they were to go upon, and was present at the time the News was brought of the Disappointment; and the last time he told them, He had met the King's Guards coming back all in a Foam, and that he had spoke to one of my Lord of *Oxford's* Regiment, and that something was muttered, upon which he feared a Discovery, that he was at the *Sun Tavern Feb. 21*, and that the Deponent acquainted him what was resolved to be put in Execution the next Day, which he agreed to, and that *Durant* had taken and brought an Account of the Inns about *Erentford* and *Torham-Green*; that *Charnock* had sent him a List of the Names, subscribed *R. C.* and that he verily believed it to be his own Hand, having often seen his Writing; and that the last Day it was to have been put in Execution, he received another Note from him of the Disappointment, subscribed *R. Robinson*, a Name *Mr. Charnock* used sometimes to go by.

To this Evidence *Mr. Charnock* alledged, He was not a legal or good Witness, because he owned himself guilty of the Crime, that he had forfeited his Life by his own Confession, and Swore to take away his to save his own. But the Court informed him, He was a legal and good Witness, notwithstanding this Objection; and as for the Credit of his

Testimony, it must be left to the Jury, who were Judges of the Fact : Then he alledged, that he Swore to get the 1000 *l.* Reward, promised in the Proclamation ; but it appeared, he was not entituled to that Reward, as having been apprehended, not voluntarily surrendring, nor apprehended any one of the Conspirators, which should enable him to receive it. Mr. *King* only asked some Questions, as to his being at the Meeting mentioned, and going to view the Ground, and was answered in the Affirmative. *Keys* alledged, He had no Body to Advise him, nor Counsel, and that he was only a Servant to Capt. *Porter*.

The next Witness was Mr. *De la Rue*, who gave Evidence, the Design had been a great while carrying on, and that it originally came from Collonel *Parker*, as to his knowledge of it ; and that seeing him at St. *Germain's*, in *France*, he had proposed it to him ; and said, he would propose it to the Lord *Melfort*, King *James's* Secretary in *France* ; and two Years after he came over into *England*, a little before the Business of *La Hogue* ; and would have had him come along with him ; but he declined it, and applied himself to the Lord *Melfort*, who advised him to stay, saying, *There was Something a doing would please him* : but at last he did come over, and was in Company with Mr. *Charnock*, Mr. *King*, Capt. *Porter*, Mr. *Goodman*, and Coll. *Parker*, several times : That Mr. *Charnock* carried him to Sir *Will. Parkins*,



*Parkins*, at the *Mitre* in *St. James's*, and there he was asked, *Whether he would be concerned in Easing them of the Yoke that then lay upon them?* Whereupon he asked, *Which way it was to be done;* for he could not understand what was meant by it, but the taking off the King. Then they demanded, If he knew where *Capt. Stow* lived, imploying him to go to his Lodgings. And after that he met them at the *Star-Tavern* in *White-Fryars*; but not looking on that as a fit place, they went to *Bromfield's Coffee-House*, and there they had some Discourse about it, taking one another aside to be more private; and, upon enquiry, the Deponent was told, It was because of an old Gentleman in the Company, whom they did not care to make acquainted with it, by reason he was too old to have a hand in it; and they would acquaint none but such as were to be Actors in the Design.

But after that he was not often in their Company, yet heard from time to time how Matters went on, and from *Capt. Porter* particularly, That they had been at *Turnham-Green*, and liked the place very well; and that their Design was to take the King off, or to hurry him into *Romney-Marsh* alive, and carry him into *France*. That whenever he questioned *Charnock* about the Design, he referred him to *Capt. Porter*, and often said, *He believed it would come to nothing*. The Design was to carry the King away alive, if they could; and if they could not, then

to Assassinate him, and pretend it was done by a Random-shot. He told him also, that they had sent to King *James* for a Commission to Execute this Matter, and to Authenticate them to carry King *William* to *France*, if they could take him; but it seems the Commission was delayed some time, and then the Conspirators resolved to do it without; and in a few Days before the King was to go to *Flanders*, in the Spring 1695, this Deponent was told, all was ready; but then they wanted a Ship to carry His Majesty off, and they met at the *Rose-Tavern*, as he remembers, viz. Capt. *Porter*, and Sir *William Parkins*, but he is not sure Mr. *Charnock* was there, where he asked them, If they had concluded on the Matter? and they told him, It was concluded on; and as he further remembers, they told him, Capt. *Charnock*, or *Robinson*, (for he went by both Names) was to have a Recommendation to some Body at *Deal*, and there they were to hire a Vessel for that purpose; and he was asked, Whether he would go with them? And he told them, He would; but a little after the King going for *Flanders*, disappointed their Design, and so the Business was put off till his Return the last Winter: And then in *November*, or *December*, Mr. King said, That there would be a Major-General come over from *France*; and that there was a Man of Quality about Town, that offered to Disburse 2 or 3000*l.* if King *James* would give Order for it: which the Deponent supposed,

was

was to buy Horses to be engaged in the Design; and he said, *He would tell him more.* A Month or two after, he told him, *He was out of Money about it, which could not be had.* Then he was brought into Company by Capt. Porter, and they told him about the latter end of *January*, or the beginning of *February*, That the Major-General was come over, and there were a great many Persons come over with him, and there would be something speedily put in Execution, which would be for the King's Service. This was told him by Mr. King, the next time he saw him; adding, *That he wanted a Saddle and Holsters; for he was to go out of Town with some Friends, in order to this Affair; and desired the Deponent to lend him one; but he told him, He had none; but would Write to Capt. Porter to procure one for him:* and further said, *He was to go to Knightley and Durant, to know whether the King went to Richmond, or Hounslow; and afterwards told him, he did go, saying, There was the rarest place for the Execution of the Design against the King, that was to be thought of, if they should never so long have studied and desired a convenient place, they could not have had such another; that it was within a quarter of a Mile of the King's House at Richmond, in a Lane that leads to the House, which was so narrow, that the Officers and Guards could go but few abreast, or hardly broad enough, here they were to do it by Ambuscade.* But Sir George Barkley's Mind altered

tered, he fearing he should not have Horse enough to bring them off ; and so it was agreed to be done in the narrow Lane between *Turnham-Green* and *Brentford* ; and being with *King* at the *Dog-Tavern*, he told him, divers of the Guards were come out of *France*, there were other Conferences : *King* said, *He did not approve of Mr. Charnock, in regard he talked not like a Soldier, but was for a Post out of danger ; and as for Capt. Porter, he had as much Fat in his Brains, as in his Body* : That *King* often owned the carrying on the designed Assassination ; for after the Ambuscade was disliked and laid aside, he agreed, that the Guards should be attack'd, and the *King* in his Coach near *Turnham-Green*, and by discourse with the Deponent, expressed his Consent to it.

The Ambuscade mentioned, which was afterward disapproved of, was to have been laid behind the Park Pales near *Richmond*, and that they should be sawed so far, that when the *King's*-Coach came into the place, the Pales should be broken down, as *King* said, and that they would have a Party of Horse ready, that should be sure to do the work with the Guards, and when those that set on the Coach fired, they should take Notice to make their Attack ; *Durant* desired to Command a Party, and they were to be attired in Countrymen's Habit, to be the less taken Notice of ; *Keys* was to have his share in this, he was at divers Meetings,  
drank

drank a Health to the squeezing the *Rotten Orange*, and consented to every thing relating to this business, that was debated at the several Meetings where he was present, for at some of them he was absent: And it further appeared against him, that when he was to procure Horse and Arms, he knew for what design they were procured, and many other things were testified against him of his being deeply concerned in this Horrid Conspiracy.

The next Evidence was Mr. *Pendergrass*, who deposed, That the 11th of *February* 1695. Capt. *Porter* sent for him out of the Country, and on the 13th he met him at the *Blue-Posts* in *Spring-Garden*, and told him of a Design that was on foot to take away the King's Life, and that Sir *George Berkley* and other Officers were come from *France* for that purpose, which thing he took very uneasie, but said nothing, till he had an opportunity to discover it to my Lord *Portland*, desiring him to acquaint the King with it, and afterward being carried into the King's Closet he discovered it to His Majesty that he was at several Meetings with the Conspirators, where the matter was discoursed and agreed to, some time after he had discovered it, for he kept his Correspondence with them, that he might not be suspected as well as to get further Intelligence, the better to prevent the wicked Design: That at one Meeting at the *Blue-Posts*, when the Design was to be executed, *Charnock* sent a Note to Capt.

*Porter,*

*Porter*, to inform him, the King did not go that way, so there must be counter Orders, and *Capt. Porter* told him, *It was Charnock's Hand, signed R. Robinson*; and showing it acquainted him and the rest of the Company, that they were disappointed that Day; for as much as the King did not go abroad, this was the 15th of *February*; and the next time they met, there was *Mr. King, Mr. Keyes, Mr. De la Rue* at *Capt. Porter's* Lodgings on *Saturday* the 22d, in the Morning, where was some Discourse of the matter, and *Capt. Porter* upon notice of the King's intending to go abroad, from *Mr. Charnock*, had sent a List of his Men, and received back a List from *Charnock*, but afterwards an account coming there was another Disappointment, that the King did not go, they concluded it was discovered, and dispersed.

The next Evidence was *Mr. Brothram*, who deposed, That on the 8th or 9th of *February*, as he was crossing *Covent-garden*, he met one *Trevor*, and he told him he was going to *Mr. Charnock's* Lodging, and that he heard him say, he wanted to speak with the Deponant; who replied, *He had no business with him, nor he with him as he knew of*; but he prevailed upon him to go with, him, and when he came to *Mr. Charnock's* Lodging, he met him in the Entry, and told him, he wanted to speak with him, and so took him into a back Room, by reason there was Company in his own, and told him, *That the King, meaning King James, was coming,*  
and



and their was a piece of Service to be done before he could come; and if he would Assist in it, it would answer his Expectation. Then he demanding what was to be done; he replied, You must only go abroad and take the Air; you will see several of your Acquaintance there. Yet he persisting to know what was to be done, Mr. Charnock told him, It was to cut off this Spark, or take off this Spark, and then the King will come Home quietly, By which Spark he then understood he meant King William. He said he had known Mr. Charnock by times seven Years, he being a Lieutenant in Collonel Parker's Regiment when this Deponant was a Trooper. He also asked him, If he would accept of being One in the Business. Who replied, He could not engage in it, for he had disposed of himself otherways, viz. he was engag'd with Sir William Pa kins. And divers Persons being in another Room, into which he lead him to drink a Glass of Wine, and some coming in afterwards, he observed great Whispering, among the Company, and frequent calling out on Mr. Charnock for private Discourse; but at that time there was no other particular Discourse about the Business. On the 22d of February he met Mr. Charnock at Lincoln's Inn Back-gate, where he told him, He heard Warrants were out against them, and that if he would come to his Lodging, go out to Kensington; and do the Work at once, in taking him off, they should be quiet, and have the King peaceably here. Mr. Charnock also asked him

him as to Mr. Trevor, what he thought of him, if he might trust him; and he replied, He might do in that what he pleased.

The next Witness was Mr. Bois, who deposed, That on the 14th of February, he went to visit Mr. King, who told him of the business in his own Chamber, saying, *There was a great Undertaking in hand, and he had put this Deponant's Name into the List, and if he would make one he should have a Horse;* and asked him, *If he had any Boots?* He reply'd, *No.* Then he desired him to see if he could get any, with Orders to meet him at the Rose Tavern in Covent-Garden, in the Afternoon; and in the mean time to go to Mr. Knightley, and he would inform him further; so he went, and came to Mr. King again in the Afternoon to the Rose Tavern, as had been appointed, where Mr. King desired him not to be out of the way the next Day, but to stay at home, and he would come or send for him, and so gave him 20 Shillings to buy him Boots, referring him for the rest to Mr. Knightley; but when he came to him, he told him, *There was nothing to be done that Day;* yet desired him to be always in the way, *for the Business would soon be over:* After this he met Mr. King several times, who still referred him to Knightley, and when he asked for the Horse proposed, he told him, *He should have one allotted in time, and when this thing was done, they should be happy, but never told him it was to take off the King;* but he believed he should know far-

further of it, for he would not have engaged till he did know, and that himself came from France the beginning of June 1695. And further declared, That Mr. King did tell him, Sir George Berklay would Command the Party, and that there were about 40 or 45 to be concerned in the Design: This being the Sum of what was deposed against the 3 Prisoners.

The King's Council having done with the Evidence they designed to give, Mr. Charnock was directed by the Court, that this was his proper time to make his Defence; he having taken Notes.

And accordingly he took the Opportunity to make a long Discourse; but his prime Objections were these:

That as to his telling Capt. Porter, That Sir George Berklay had brought over a Commission all writ with King James's own Hand, thereby Authorizing them to raise War against the Person of King William; he insinuated, It was very unlikely he should write it, having the Lord Melfort for his Secretary, and others, that could do it, and he need but Sign it on the Top, James R. And as to his Commanding a Party, he knew nothing of it; and though he had acknowledged his own Guilt of a very bad Crime, he named not them that were to be of the Party, and so he conceived it could not be an Overt-act, unless he told who they were. He denied he was with him at any place where Sir George Berklay, or any body else talked of any such thing; but heard that Colonel Parker was in England, but did not see him. As for

for the List of Men sent subscribed with the two Letters of his Name, he objected, The Witnesses did not see him write it, and Similitudes in Hands were never thought good in Cases Criminal. That though it was given against him in Evidence, That there were Horses to be bought and provided, yet it did not prove he bought any, nor had he a Horse any where. As to the sending any Note of Orders on the 15th of February, he denied that ever he sent any Note wherein there was any mention made of the King, or any Fact of that nature that was to be committed. That though the Evidence mentioned Four out of each Party, that were to be with Sir George Berklay, he did not say he named any, nor names any himself.

These Observations made upon Capt. Porter's Evidence, he proceeded on the like to Monsieur De la Rue's, viz.

That for the most part the Evidence he gave against him was by Hearsay, which he conceived ought to go for nothing. And as to his saying, he told him it would come to nothing, he did not say the Plot would come to nothing, for there was nothing at all spoken of any Plot, much less a Design to Assassinate the King. And so proceeded upon other Points to Ex-tenuate the Evidence against him and his Accomplices, labouring to insinuate Impossibilities in many Particulars, especially in that part relating to carrying the King over alive into France, in which it was said he was to go to Deal and Hire a Vessel for the Purpose,

Purpose, affirming he knew no Seaman nor any Master of a Vessel there.

As to Mr. Pendergrafs, he said, He did not think his Evidence much affected him, he having seen him but once of a great while, and that was the Wednesday or Thursday before he was taken up; and all that he said of him was, that Cranbourn brought a Message from him, that one time he Writ R. Robinson, and another time he sent a List Subscribed R. C. and that Capt. Porter shewed this Evidence both, but he looked on this as hearsay of Capt. Porter's Mouth; and then laboured to insinuate, as if they had contrived this Plot for their advantage, but the Court made him sensible of the contrary, for that they were not entituled to any Reward by the King's Proclamation, both of them having been apprehended, and had not apprehended any of their Accomplices.

As to Mr. Bertram, all he conceived in his Evidence that related to him was, that upon the Ninth of February, he should take him into a back Room and tell him, There was something in hand for the Restoring King James, but there was somewhat to be done first, to take off the Spark: That he had afterwards met him at Lincolns-Inn back Gate, where he told him, There were Warrants out, and they had as good do the Business presently: The first of these he disowned, saying, It was improbable he should impart a Secret of such a Nature, to a private Trooper; besides he could not, and believed no Body else could  
tell

*tell what to make of the Words (taking off the Spark) how to construe that to make it an Evidence of an Intention to kill the King, yet owned it was probable he might say, There was a noise King James would come: For (as he said) it had been in publick Prints, that there was such an Expectation and Preparation for it on the Coast of France: As for the latter (he said) he did meet him at Lincoln-Inn-Gate, the Saturday before he was taken up, and he did hear there were Warrants out, but there was no such Intimacy between them, that he should desire him to come to his Lodging, and that he would support him in any sort.*

There was one thing more to be observed in the Evidence, viz. That he said, *He might Ride out and take the Air, and there he should meet with some of his Acquaintance;* but from this he endeavoured to infer, That no Construction of a Design to kill the King could be gathered, since that if he had liked the Man so well as to send for him about such a Business, he would have put his words into a better Method, that he might have been one in the Execution of it, &c.

This being briefly what he objected against the Evidence, he cited some Cases out of my Lord Cook's Institutes, relating to what is required, to make an Overt-Act in Cases of High-Treason, and what was supposed not to be so; and after some more Discourse, desired the Court to tell the Jury plainly what Evidence it is the Law requires to  
 Confess



Convict a Person of the Crime he stood accused of, and what was necessary to make up that Evidence, what is legal proof of an Overt-Act, and what Overt-Acts had been plainly and manifestly proved against him, and not to leave the Construction of the Evidence to the Apprehension or Inclination of the Jury, tho' he needed not doubt their Justice: After this he made some Exceptions as to particulars in the Indictment, and was answered in some Points, but withal told, he moved that out of time, it being proper before the Jury had been Sworn, or after the Verdict given.

Mr. King said, *He insisted on many things Mr. Charnock had urged; but as to what related to him upon Capt. Porter's Evidence, about going with him and Knightley to view the Ground where the Design was to be executed, he owned he did go with them, but that it was merely to take the Air.*

As to Mr. De la Rue, he said, *He doth not pretend to say, that he ever told him of any Design to destroy the King; and as to the Sword he mentioned, he knew he always wore one, and ever had one.*

As for Mr. Pendergrass's saying, he saw him at the Rose in Covent-Garden, where they discoursed something to the Matter; he said, he tells not what that Matter was, nor what the Discourse was, and for Mr. Boyse he did not tax him with any Design of killing the King; nay, that himself said, *He did not mention any such thing to him; and as to the*

[ 94 ]  
the Matter of an Overt-Act, what is an Overt-Act, and what is not so, what is good proof of it, and what not, he entirely referred himself to the Court.

Kays made little defence, only alledging, That he was a Servant to Capt. Porter, and what he did was by his Command or Order; but was told, No Man is so much under the Command of his Master, as that he ought to obey him, if he commanded him to commit High-Treason: For it had been plainly proved, he was told upon what Design he was engaged, and had bought Horses, &c.

And 'twas plain he was by when Capt. Porter promised to lend Mr. Pendergrass a Musketoon that would carry 6 or 7 Bullets, which was designed to fire into the King's Coach, or to kill or lame the Horses, that the Coach might be stop'd, and said, *He hoped he would not be afraid to break the Glass-Windows;* but now he said, *He remembered no such thing;* his Master was pleased to jest with him sometimes, and he might say a great many things that he did not regard.

The Proceedings being to this effect, and the Prisoners no more to say, the King's Counsel summed up the Evidence in all its particulars from point to point, as it appeared, to charge each of the Prisoners of what was laid against them in the Indictment; and the Jury having the Charge given them by the Court, with all the exactness and Candor imaginable, they withdrew to consider

der the Evidence, and within half an hour returned, and found them all three guilty of the High-Treason for which they were Indicted, and so the Court adjourned till Six in the Evening. At what time

The Prisoners being again set to the Bar, and making what Objections they could in arrest of Judgment, and they being particularly answered and over-ruled, Sentence passed upon them to be Drawn, Hanged and Quartered; and on *Wednesday* the 18th of *March*, they were conveyed to *Tyburn* in a Sledge, and there severally delivered Papers to the Sheriffs.

The substance of Mr. *Charnock's* Paper was, That he owned the intended Invasion by the late King *James* on *England*, and that for the facilitating it, he did agree, with some others, upon the Undertaking, to Attack the Prince of *Orange* and his Guards; but that he never knew or saw any Commission from King *James*, for Assassinating him; that he did hear there was a Commission arrived for levying War, which was natural to believe, but never saw it; and lastly, he endeavoured to clear the Body of the *Roman Catholicks* from having any knowledge of the Design, it being communicated as he insisted but to a few.

The substance of Mr. *King's* Paper was, That he never saw any Order or Commission of King *James*, for promoting the Assassination, for which he was Condemned, that the Design was never undertaken with any  
general

general Knowledge, or Approbation of any Body of Men, either *Catholic* or *Protestant*; and lastly, That he did not engage in it upon any King-killing Principles, that could justify the Undertaking, but was drawn into it by his own Rashness and Passion.

Key's Paper had nothing at all in it of Publick Concern, but only some private Exclamations of a dying Man.

It is generally held, they died *Roman Catholics*, not admitting any Minister into the Cart with them; but, as 'tis supposed, Mr. *Charnock* did the last Office for himself, and the other two: After they were turned off, and Dead, they were Quartered, and their Heads and Quarters set up on the several Gates of the City, as a Warning to others to deter them from such dangerous and detestable Undertakings; and now since some have been very desirous to know what these Men formerly were, I shall, as far as I have learned, give a brief Account of them.

As for Mr. *Charnock*, it is said, He was a Convert of *Obadiah Walker's*, though some believe he was rather Converted by his own Interest, to entitle himself under the late King *James*, to the Vice-Presidentship of *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Oxford*, when the President and Fellows were turned out, against whom he was a main Stickler, but being turned out, he changed his course of Life, for coming to *London*, and taking Lodgings

ings in *Norfolk-street*, he fell into the Acquaintance of a *Spanish Gentlewoman*, the Widow of *Mr. Price*, a *Cadiz-Factor*, who having raised himself to an Estate of 15000 *l.* left his Widow 4000 *l.* but in very bad hands; however, *Mr. Charnock* pretending to be a Gentleman of a good Estate, courted and marry'd her; but finding they were both deceiv'd in their Fortunes, they liv'd an unquiet Life together, till *Mr. Charnock* made a shift to make himself Master of 900 *l.* of her Money, and so long as that lasted kept his two Horses, and carried things at a high rate; but that being spent, and finding he could linger no more, he forsook her Bed about a Twelvemonth before this Misfortune besel him; he was brought up to Learning, and was a Person of considerable parts.

*Mr. King* was the Son of a Tire-woman in *Bow-street*, yet brought up like a Gentleman, he first rid in the Guards, and after was a Lieutenant under the late King, but since a good while out of Employment; so as it is be believed, in hopes to mend his Fortune, he undertook to engage in this pernicious Design.

*Keys* had been a Trumpeter in a Troop, but losing his place, he hired himself to *Capt. Porter*, and appeared a very forward Tool in the designed Assassination.

The late King being very sensible, that his Design upon *England* had miscarried, and that his Friends here, on whom he more particularly depended, were secured, or crept into

Corners, that they were in no Condition to assist him, great part of the Forces that were drawn down to the Sea-coast, upon the Account of the intended Invasion, retired either to Winter-Quarters, or marched back to secure their Frontiers against the Confederates; and at length we have Advice, that himself sent word of the bad Success to the late Queen, who had put her self into a Monastery, to continue there during his Expedition, and impatiently waited the News of the Success; which having proved contrary to her Desire, Anger and Grief put her for some time under a Despondency of Body and Mind: However, the Court at *St. Germain's*, as well as that at *Versailles*, appeared much ashamed of the intended Assassination, since it miscarried, and labour all they can to stifle the Report of their knowing any thing of it, when by very many Circumstances they could not do other ways: Or why did Monsieur *Ametto* alter his Note in *Switzerland*? Or the Duke of *Berwick* be so confident of returning in three Months, as Ambassador from *England* to the Court of *France*? Or, how came the News to be spread there, *The King was killed a Hunting*, if they were ignorant of it? And indeed it appears, the Assassination was to be timed to the intended Invasion, by the Signal that was to be given from *Dover-Clifts*: and to make this plainer, they had Coyned many Medals at the King's Mint, in *Paris*, to be distributed on the expected Success, by way of Boast, or Glory-  
ing



ing in so black a Crime; and in one, particularly, their Malice seemed to have executed the Design in *Effigie* before-hand, for under the borrowed Name of *Absalom*, they had represented His Majesty hanging in a Tree, with a Dart through his Heart, and the Motto, *Eccæ Magnus Absalom*: Behold the Great *Absalom*. And within the Inner-Ring, *Digna Factis recipis*: He has been treated according to his Merits.

And it all along appears, Sir *George Barkley*, who was Lieutenant of the late King's Guards, came over on purpose to manage the wicked Design, to get, keep together, and encourage the Assassines; bringing over a Commission to Levy War on the King's Person. And Mr. *Harris* has sworn, He was Directed to him, and to Obey his Orders here; which was the Business of the intended Assassination: Nevertheless, it will from hence appear, that the *French* King was so far from putting a stop to such a piece of Parricide, that he encouraged it, and hastened his Forces to second the fatal Effect of the Blow.

Lastly, It is to be observed, That the Conspirators were tied to a time, the *French* King being willing to see *England* in a Hurley-burley, before he took the Field in *Flanders*; therefore it may properly follow, that the Conspirators fixed on the 15th of *February*. Now who can be reasonably thought to fix this time, but he who was able to get every thing in a readiness, to second the perpetrated

ted Fact; which must then remain in *Lewis the Fourteenth*; for the late King had no numerous Forces, or Money of his own, to proceed in this Undertaking, but moved, as you have often heard, by the Councils, Dictates, and Orders of the former: And therefore, however it may be denied at the *French Court*, this Black and Unmanly Design, will stick as a lasting Stain on the House of *Burbon*, and render it more detested by all the Princes of the Universe.

And now the Sword of Justice being unsheathed in *England*, an Indictment of High-Treason being found against Sir *John Friend*, for Compassing and Imagining the Death of the King, as likewise for Adhering to the King's Enemies, &c. and he having had timely Notice to prepare for his Tryal, and making his Defence, on the 23d of *March*, 1696, he was brought down to the *Sessions-House*, in the *Old-Bailey*. The Court being sat, he was set to the Bar; where he desired one *William Courtney*, who was, as he said, a principal Witness, and in the *Gate-House*, might be sent for; and a *Habeas Corpus ad Testificandum*, was ordered by the Court, to bring him in the Custody of a Keeper. Then Sir *John Friend* being order'd to hold up his Hand, the Indictment was read; to which he pleaded, *Not Guilty*; and for his Tryal, put himself upon God and his Country: Then desired, If any Matter of Law arose, he might be heard by Council. In which being satisfied, if the Court saw it a Matter

Matter of Doubt, and that he should have all the Benefit of the Law possible: He was order'd to look to his Challenges, and told as the former, how many he might Challenge without shewing any cause. And having taken his advantage in that, Twelve were sworn; and the Jury being charged with him, the King's Council opened the Nature of the Indictment, and of the Evidence intended to be given against the Prisoner: and so proceeded to call and swear the Witnesses.

But upon Capt. Porter's coming in, Sir John Friend desired to know, Whether he was a *Roman Catholick*, or a *Protestant*? But was told, That was no Objection against his Evidence; and that he was not bound to accuse himself, yet might do it voluntarily; but he refusing to answer it, as an improper Question; and being further satisfied by my Lords the Judges giving him their Opinions in it, Captain Porter was sworn, who deposed,

That about the latter end of *May*, or beginning of *July*, 1695, there were two Meetings, one at the *Old King's Head*, in *Leadenhall Street*; and the other at Mrs. *Montjoy's Tavern*, the Prisoner being present; and that it was agreed at both of them, to send over Mr. *Charnock* to *France*, to invite the late King *James* to come over into *England*, and prevail with the *French King* to accommodate him with 10000 Men, viz. 8000 Foot, 1000 Horse, and 1000 Dragoons:

but Mr. Charnock made some scruple to go on a foolish Message; as he termed it, unless he knew what they would promise to do. Whereupon all the Company did promise him, they would endeavour to come in to assist at the Invasion with a Body of 2000 Horse, where ever he would appoint. And after the second Meeting, Charnock told him, he was to go in two or three Days. He heard talk of a Commission; and heard Sir John say, *He would be as ready as any, when the time come.* And afterward seeing Charnock, he told him, *He had been in France, and spoke with the late King;* but he told him, *That the French King could not spare so many Men that Year; and that he had acquainted Sir John and others with that Message.*

Another Meeting was at the Nag's Head in St. James's, but there they whispered together, and he could not tell what discourse they had: But one time Sir George Barkley told him, *That some People, not so violent, wrote over to the late King to stop the Business.* Whereupon Sir John Friend said, *Then you will have no Letters to Night: If any thing be bid from me behind the Curtain, I am not fairly dealt withal, and I will proceed no farther.*

This being the Sum of Capt. Porter's Evidence against the Prisoner, Mr. Blair was sworn, who deposed, He saw a Commission, and read it, being a Commission from the late King James to Sir John Friend; that

that he shewed it him, and it was for the raising a Regiment of Horse for the late King's Service, and that it was near a Year since, and that he was nominated Coll. of the Regiment; and promised to make the Depo-  
 nant Lieutenant Collonel, telling him one *Richardson* was to be one of his Captains; and he brought one *Fisher* to him, and he was to be one of the Eldest Captains: And one Capt. *Evans* told him he was to be Captain-Lieutenant; and one *Vernari* was to be a Captain; and that he endeavoured all he could to get Officers that would bring in Troopers; and spoke to Capt. *Barnsley*, who had been a Lieutenant in the late King's Service, to be Major, but sometimes he accepted it, and at others refused it; he said, he procured likewise one Mr. *Hall* a Merchant at *Deal*, and *Bartram* was to be his Lieutenant; that he had several Sums of Money of Sir *John Friend*, to Encourage and Drink with the Men; that one *Pigot* payed him first 20 l. and then 20 l. more by the Order of Sir *John*, it being an Account of Money he had once parted with to facilitate Coll. *Parker's* Escape out of the Tower, that the whole of the Account was 100 l. which Sir *John* told him, King *James* had ordered the Re-payment of at St. *German's* in *France*, and that *Pigot* there received it, but returning, refused to pay it, and that if he could get so much Money of him, he would allow it out of the 100 l. That he told him, He had received a Letter from

the late King James: That Coll. *Sclater* was to bring in 10 Horses, and that he designed to make him Lieutenant-Collonel; adding, he would have two Lieutenant-Collonels in his Regiment; at which, when this Deponant seemed dissatisfied, he told him, *Sclater* should be Captain of a Troop of Non-swearing Parsons, for he believed he should have a Troop of them, and they should be Independent; that he called him out at *Jonathan's* Coffee-house, a little before the Horrid Conspiracy, or intended Assassination was discovered, and told him what he heard from *Fisher* about the Discovery, and *Harrison* the Priest, and he told him, They had heard of it, and were afraid it would ruine King James and his Affairs; that he met Sir *John Friend*, and he took him into his Coach at St. *Martins le Grand*, and he said, *Then he would do nothing till the Thoulon Fleet, met the Brest Fleet; and by that time,* (said he) *we shall all be taken up; but you may sculk about the Town better than I, and you must be a good Husband of your Money, for Money will be very scarce: What do you think would mount you?* continued Sir *John*.) *I can't tell,* (says the Deponant) *that is according as I am mounted.* Then he said, *He would mount but a few Indigent Officers:* He further told him, *He believed he should Command the Regiment he was engaged in, and that Sir John Fenwick had four Troops of Horse in a Readiness.*

After



After this, the Witness produced a Letter sent from Sir John, a little before he received the last 20 l. he believed it was his Hand, and afterwards he told him, he writ it, being to this purpose:

Mr. Blair,  
 YOU may much wonder you have not received an Answer of yours before, I have been afflicted with the Gout in my Hands and Feet, that I have not been able to put Pen to Paper; I thank God, I am now something better, I hope to be in London on Thursday next, about Twelve, at Jonathan's Coffee-house, if the Weather don't prevent me; if not, I shall not come till Monday Morning: I do desire you to meet me at that hour, for it is not convenient to write a lot more, for some reason I can give. I am your Affectionate Friend,

John Erind:

After this he did meet him accordingly, and he had order for 20 l. and he received the Money upon it of Piggot; that it was to meet and Drink with the Men to cherish them, and keep them together, and that he had no Dealings with Sir John, but on the Account of the Regiment; that being in Company with him and one Ridley, at a Chop-House, near the Exchange, he heard Ridley say, That there was a very sensible Man, a Roman Catholick, about sixty Years old, gone over, and he believed he went to re-  
 serve.

*Before the last Orders*; to which Sir John replied, *He knew not*: That a considerable time before, Sir John told him, *Ferguson* would joyn with him, and bring in a great many Men; that he showing him a Letter he was about to send to the late King, he told him, *He lik'd the Penning of it so well, he believed Ferguson had a hand in it*; but he reply'd, *he had not*, and seemed angry at his so saying, yet afterwards told him, *He had an Answer to it*.

This being the material proof against Sir John, by these Witnesses, he asked Capt. Blair, what Date the Commission was, or if it were Signed or Sealed? As to the Date, he said, *He knew not but that it was Signed James Rex above; and below, by his Majesty's Command Melford*; and there was a little Seal on the Margin: Then Sir John protested, That the Money he had given him, was out of Charity, and that he had sent to him making great Complaints of his Necessity: The Witness denied not that he had sent to him, but he had before that impoverished himself by laying out Money upon Sir John's Business, it having cost him many a Pound more than he had had of him; after these and some other Questions, which were plainly answered, as to his bringing Officers to him, encouraging the Men that were to engage, and about the Letter,

Mr. Bartram was sworn, and asked, if he knew Blair? He reply'd, *He did*: And that he had told him for two Years almost past,

That

That Sir *John Friend* was to have a Regiment of Horse raised about Town; that he was to be Lieutenant-Col. and the Depo-  
nant should be a Lieutenant under him, oblig-  
ing him to bring in as many Men and Hor-  
ses as he could, and named to him divers Of-  
ficers that were to be in the Regiment, as  
*Fisher, Vernari* and *Cole*, to be Captains, and  
that he had Letters from beyond Sea rela-  
ting to the Purpose.

But Sir *John* was told by the Court, This  
last Evidence was only to confirm *Blair's* Te-  
stimony, and was no Evidence against  
him.

The Evidence for the King being thus far  
over, Sir *John* was directed to make his  
Defence.

And the first Objection he made against  
the Credit of the Witnesses was, That they  
were not to be credited, because they were Ro-  
man Catholics, and that Papists thought it  
meritorious to Swear against Protestants; la-  
bouring to prove by some Statutes, they  
were not to be admitted as good Witnesses  
in such cases, but nothing in those Statutes  
made for his purpose.

Next he insisted, That Capt. *Blair* had  
disowned he knew any thing of the Plot,  
and that when he was told in the Gate-House  
by *Courtney*, a Prisoner there, That it was  
reported, he was to be a Discoverer; he  
seemed to be troubled at it, as if it were  
against his Conscience, and that his Wife  
had said something to that purpose. But Capt.  
*Blair*,

*Blair, upon Courtney's Evidence, denied it, saying, He was ill, and did not desire to be troubled ; having given Order no Body should come at him, but his Wife ; and yet Mr. Courtney intruded into his Room, positively affirming, on his Oath, That he never did say it was against his Conscience.*

*After this, Sir John produced divers to testifie, he was a Protestant ; and that some of them had known him twenty Years , others longer, having been frequently in his Company, and never heard him reflect on the present Government ; and one of them said, He did reprove those that reflected : And one that had been a Chaplain in his House, said, He had read the Common-Prayer, and prayed for the present King, and late Queen Mary, and Sir John being present, seemed not to be disgusted at it ; but he had been gone from him about Five Years, and had very little Conversation since with him. He produced another that had been in his Company divers times, and had several Discourses with him, and that he said, Though he could not Conform to the present Government, to take the Oaths, he would live peaceably and quietly under it, and be in no Plots, and that if they caught him in the Corn, they should put him in the Prison : and to the like effect, though somewhat more at large.*

*The Evidence being over on both sides, the King's Council summed it up in the Particulars for the King, and as to what appeared on the behalf of the Prisoner, if any there-*

in might weigh to his advantage, with all the deliberation and fairness imaginable; after which the Court gave the Charge to the Jury, as to what the Prisoner was charged with upon the Indictment, and the Defence he had made; which being done, the Jurors withdrew, having looked on the Letter that was produced, as they went out; and within half an hour brought him in Guilty of the High-Treason charged against him; which being Recorded, he was Remanded to *Newgate*, the passing of the Sentence being deferred till the next Day: And then the Court Adjourned till seven of the Clock, *March 24th.*

The 24th the Court accordingly met, in order to the Tryal of Sir *William Parkins*, when a Messenger came from Sir *J. Friend*, to desire, *That he might be heard a Word or two in Arrest of Judgment.* Whereupon being ordered to be set to the Bar, and Silence commanded, he besought their Lordships to give him leave, to move in Arrest of Judgment; because, as he said, *He was not Convicted of High-Treason*; forasmuch as *Mr. Porter* said, *That he, with others, sent to King James in May last, to obtain Men from the French King*; and that *Capt. Blair* said, *He had a Commission from King James to be a Collonel of Horse.* But this he would have to be no Levying of War, and therefore alledged he was Convicted by one Witness upon this.

He

He was told, he was not Indicted for Levying War, but for Compassing the Death of the King; as for the Commission to raise Men, it was plain he had given Money to *Blair*, his Lieutenant-Collonel, to give to those of them that were to be of his Regiment: Then he made Protestations of his being as innocent as the Child unborn, of Assassinating the King, and desired the Court would hear his Counsel; but being told, it could not be allowed, and of what Nature the Treason was, of which, upon a long Tryal he had been found Guilty, viz. Conspiring to Levy War, to Dethrone the King; he humbly submitted, and desired he might have the liberty of Friends to come to him, and to take Care of his Soul, that little time he had to live; which was readily granted, and he thereupon went from the Bar.

And then according to the Order of the Day, upon the last Night's Adjournment, *Sir William Parkins* was brought to his Tryal before the Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, the Lord Chief Justice *Treby*, and Mr. Justice *Rookeby*, for High-Treason, in Conspiring with *Charnock*, and other Traitors, to Murder and Assassinate the King, and to procure an Invasion from *France*. *Sir William* pleaded to have his Tryal put off for some time, alledging that he was unprepar'd, wanted some material Witnesses, and had not the benefit of Council till *Friday* last. But was answer'd, That his Name had been inserted



ferred in the Proclamation, which gave him Notice of his Crime a considerable time before, and that he had been committed a Fortnight. He also desir'd the Court, that a Trunk, with some Linnen, and other things, for the subsistence of his Family, which was seiz'd, might be restor'd; which was promis'd him. He pleaded to have the benefit of the New Act, for Regulation of Tryals in Cases of High-Treason: But was told by the Court, That they were to act by Law, and not to make Law; and that the said Act did not take place till the 25th. He challenged about thirty of the Jury, and two particularly, as being the King's Servants; which the Court told him, was no just Exception, but would not dispute it with him, if there were enough besides, as there happen'd to be. The Jury being Sworn,

The King's Council opened the Indictment, and charg'd the Prisoner with having agreed with others, to procure Forty Men to Assassinate the King in his Coach, and to Attack the Guards; that the Prisoner was to procure Five Horses, and had provided Arms, &c. for the Design. That he had receiv'd a Commission from the late King, to be a Collonel of Horse; and in *May*, or *June* last, met at the *Old King's Head*, in *Leadenhall-street*, with *Sir John Friend*, *Capt. Porter*, &c. where they agreed to send *Charnock* to *France*, to procure Ten thousand Men from thence, &c. as we mention'd in

Sir

*Sir John Friend's Tryal.* That in *January* last, *Sir George Barkley* was sent from *France* to engage Persons in the Assassination ; that Twenty, or more, other Persons, were sent over about that time on the same Account : That *Sir George* brought a pretended Authority with him, being a Commission from the late King, to Levy War against the King's Person, which he shewed to *Charnock*, and the Prisoner. That divers Consults were held thereon at *Capt. Porter's Lodgings*, the *Nag's Head* in *Covent-Garden*, and the *Sun Tavern* in the *Strand* ; where they debated of the Way, Method, and Persons, for executing the Design, and sent *Porter*, *King*, and *Knightley*, to view the Ground : that they resolv'd on the Lane betwixt *Brandford* and *Turnham-Green*, and in the Evening acquainted the Prisoner, *Sir George Barkley*, &c. with it ; who agreed, that it should be done there ; and that Ten or Twelve should attack the King in his Coach, and the rest the Guards, as formerly mention'd. That the Fifteenth of *February* was the first Day appointed ; but they were frustrated, the King not going a Hunting. That *Chambers* and *Durance*, were lodg'd at *Kensington* as Orderly Men, to give Notice of the King's Motions ; and that Lodgings were taken at an Inn in *Brandford*, for others of the Assassines. That being disappointed on the Fifteenth, they resolv'd to do it on *Saturday* the Twenty-second, and met about it at the *Nag's-Head*, and in *Covent-Garden*, on the  
 Twenty-

Twenty-first. That Capt. *Porter's* Horses falling lame, the Prisoner undertook to supply him with others, and particularly to procure Three from *Somerset-House*, by Mr. *Lewis*, Gentleman of the Horse to the Earl of *Feversham*. That having Notice from their Orderly Men, at *Kensington*, of the King's being to go a Hunting, they prepar'd for the Attempt with great Joy. That the Prisoner had a great Quantity of Arms put up in Boxes about *Michaelmas* last, which were sent to Mr. *Haywood*, *Charnock's* Brother-in-Law, under the Notion of Valuable Goods: And that on the *Tuesday* after the Discovery, he sent to remove the said Goods, and order'd them to be buried in the Ground; but upon search, they were found to be Thirty-two Carbines, Twenty-five Cases of Pistols, and Forty odd Swords without Hilt. That the Prisoner entrusted one *Sweet*, an Officer of the Excise, in the Affairs of the Plot, and told him, That he had Assurance of King *James's* Landing, under his own Hand, and had made Preparations of Men and Officers to joyn him. That the Prisoner told *Sweet*, That he had met some of King *James's* Friends, in *Leicester-shire*, went to Capt. *Scudimor's* in his way, and at *Leicester* met Capt. *Tarborough*, who came from *York*, and others that came from the *West*, and that they had settled a Correspondence; that the *West* was as well affected to King *James* as the *North*; that a Lord's Brother was concern'd in the matter; and that there

was

was no fear of the Miscarrying of the Design. That the Prisoner sent *Sweet* to order his Horses to Town on the Fourteenth, the Evening before the Assassination was first design'd, and that they were provided with Saddles, Holstar-Pistols, Jack-Boots, &c. That he ordered his Horses to be got ready, to go out of Town on the Fifteenth in the Evening, after the Assassination was to have been first perform'd, but staid till *Monday*, and then return'd to Town again, the *Friday* before the Assassination was design'd the Second time, with *Holmes*, and Five Horses and Pistols, Jack-Boots, &c. and ordered his Servant to go early next Morning to *Kensington*, to one *Brown* of the King's Kitchen, and tell him, That he was his Servant, and come from the Person that Lodged at the *Confectioner's* over-against *Grey's Inn*, which appears to have been *Sir George Barkley*: That the said *Brown*, who was one of the Orderly Men, writ in his Servant's Almanack, That he would be in Town in two Hours time: That the said Servant went to *Sir George Barkley*, who went by the Name of *Rogers*, and deliver'd the Answer. That *Sir William Parkins* came to the *George Inn* in *Holbourn*, where the Horses were, and call'd for the Saddles, &c. under the Notion of having bought them for the *Marquess de Miremont's* Regiment, and that the said Horses were carried away in a hurry on the Disappointment.

Then

Then Captain *Porter* being Sworn, he depos'd, as to Sir *William's* being at the Meetings above-mention'd, where 'twas agreed to send *Charnock* to King *James*, and that Sir *William* should head and furnish his Quo a of the Two thousand Horse to joyn him : That he the said *Porter* lodg'd in the same House with Sir *William Parkins* and *Charnock* : That they refused to take him to the first Meeting with Sir *George Barkley* : That Sir *George* coming quickly after to see *Porter*, they had their Consults at the *Globe*, *Nag's Head*, and *Sun Tavern*, where the Prisoner, and others, agreed to send *Charnock*, &c. to King *James*. That Sir *George* told him, He had brought Three Hundred Pound to buy Horses, and had actually purchas'd Twenty. That Sir *William* was to procure Five, Two of which were to mount *Porter's* Men, and that *Porter* was to procure Five or Six. That *Charnock* told him the said *Porter*, That Sir *William* had seen King *James's* Commission, to Levy War on the Person of the Prince of *Orange*. The Evidence said, That Sir *William* told him the like himself, and that it was all writ with King *James's* own Hand, because he would entrust no other with it. He depos'd likewise, as to Sir *William's* appointing him, and others, to view the Ground for the Attempt on the King, and agreeing to it on their Report ; that they had Consults about it at the *Nag's Head* in *St. James's Street*, and *Blue Posts* in *Spring Garden*, where Sir *George Barkley* express'd his Fears of a  
 Dis-

Discovery. That Sir *William* said, He would not be in the Attempt himself, as having other Business, viz. that of his Regiment to look after; but agreed that it would be the easiest way to restore King *James*; and the Evidence was told, That Sir *William* had given order for his Horses to be ready for the Design.

*Sweet* depos'd, That Sir *William* told him about *Christmas* last, that his Troop consisted of old Soldiers; that he expected some old Officers as Volunteers; had bought Thirty Saddles; and had King *James's* Word for his Landing: That he told him of his Meeting with King *James's* Friends in *Leicester-shire*, as above-mention'd; and said to *Sweet*, at his own Lodgings in *Norfolk-street*, that he had some Business for him to do, but did not think fit to employ him in it, because of his Family, and sent him to order his Man to bring Three strong Horses to Town: That he ordered *Sweet* to come to him on *Saturday* the Fifteenth of *February*, at Eleven a Clock, when he found *Chambers* and *Lee* with him; and *Chambers* said, That he wanted *Revenge*; having been wounded at the *Boyne*.

Sir *William's* Servant deposed, That he brought Three Horses to the *George-Inn*, in *Holborn*, on *Friday* in *February* last: That his Master went out of Town the *Monday* after, and *Holmes* with him: That he and *Holmes* returned the *Friday* following, with Four Horses, and another Servant, having  
Holster-



Holster-Pistols, &c, That one came to him, the Evidence, with a Note to go to *Brown* at *Kensington* from the Gentleman that lodg'd at the Confectioner's; that *Brown* writ his Answer in his Almanack, with which he return'd to Sir *William*, and he ordered him to carry it to the Gentleman at the Confectioner's, who spoke broad *Scotch*, and then his Master ordered him to go home: That Mr. *Lewis* came to the *George- Inn*, and ask'd for the Saddles: That he, the Evidence, carried a Letter to *Evans*, his Fellow-Servant, to fetch the Boxes from Mr. *Haywood*.

Mr. *Haywood's* Servant depos'd, That Seven or Eight Boxes were brought to his Masters by Two of Sir *William's* Servants, between Nine and Ten, on *Wednesday* at Night.

Mr. *Haywood* depos'd, That the said Boxes came to his House, with a Letter from Mr. *Charnock* his Brothe-in-law, desiring him to lodge them: That he met Sir *William* about the Eighteenth of *February* last, at the *Temple* Coffee-House, who told him, He would dispose of the Goods by the first opportunity, and that when Sir *William's* Servants came for them late at Night, he desir'd them to stay till next Morning, because it was an unseasonable Hour to remove them then, but they would not.

Another Country-man depos'd, That the Prisoner's Man desir'd him to go with him to Mr. *Haywood's*; met him about half a Mile from

from the House, and told him, He must not come near the same till it was late, and that they removed the Boxes, and buried them under a Wall: That he was present when they were taken up and search'd, and saw the Arms found in them.

The Constable, in whose House the Arms were lodged when taken, depos'd, That he saw 'em taken up where they were buried; that they consisted of Forty eight two-edged Sword-Blades, the Hilts being in a Box by themselves, thirty two Carbines, and twenty five Cases of Pistols.

The Hostler of the *George-Inn* depos'd, That Sir *William's* Groom, and another Servant, brought five Horses thither the *Friday*-Night before the Proclamation for Apprehending the Conspirators, four of which had Holster-Pistols, and one was a led Mare; that they went away again on the *Sunday* in the Afternoon, having been hard rid and sweaty. That three other Horses had been there a Week before, which he was told Sir *William* ordered to be kept, that they came from *Somerset-House*.

The Tapster of the said Inn depos'd, That three Horses were kept there a Week before the said Proclamation: that five of Sir *William's* were brought thither the *Friday* before the Plot broke out, and they were ordered to be got ready on *Saturday*-morning; and that Mr. *Lewis*, Gentleman of the Horse to the Earl of *Feversham*, came to the Inn on *Saturday* in the Afternoon, before Sir *William's* Horses went away.

Sir

Sir *William's* principal Defence was, There was no Evidence to the Assassination but Capt. *Porter*, and that by the 25 *Edm. 3.* there ought to be two Witnesses to convict a Man of Treason. But was answered, That to Assassinate the King, and to Dethrone him, was one and the same Species of Treason, and that this was prov'd against him by two Witnesses: That he that would Depose the King and Deprive him of his Defence, must be construed to Destroy him. Sir *William* answered, That we had seen a King Depos'd, and yet was alive, therefore Conspiring against him, and Destroying him, must be different Species. To which 'twas reply'd, That we knew of a King agreed to be Assassinated, and yet he was alive, and therefore the want of Success did not make it a distinct Species of Treason; that two Overt-acts of the same sort of Treason, prov'd by two different Witnesses, was judg'd a sufficient Conviction, and that the 25 *Edm. 3.* was so explain'd in *Richard the Second's* time: That it was the Parliament's Opinion in the great Case of my Lord *Stafford*; and the meaning of the new Act of Parliament, which, as also that of the 25 *Edm. 3.* was read in Court. Sir *William* objected, That *Sweet's* Evidence was inconsistent with itself, to say, That he told him that he had King *James's* Word for his Landing, when he had never been out of the Kingdom, and that King *James* was in *France*. But was answered, That it was not impos-

impossible that he should have said so to *Sweet*, nor that he might have had it from King *James's* own Mouth; but moreover, that what a Man writes may as well be call'd his Words, as what he speaks.

As for the Arms he said, That if time were allowed him, he could prove, that he found them in his House in *Warwickshire*, when he came first thither about two Years ago; to which it was replyed, That there was no Evidence to prove that, and if there were, that he ought to have deliver'd the Arms to the Government: That there had been Designs against the King for above two Years: and that it was prov'd by five Witnesses, That he had provided and secreted those Arms; and that no good reason could be given why they should not have been publick as before: That the Evidence given by his own Servants, the Hostler, &c. as to the Horses, and sending to *Brown* at *Kensington*, who appear'd to be *Chambers*, were concurring Proofs with that of Capt. *Porter* to the same Species of Treason: That his sending for *Sweet*, and refusing to employ him, because of his Family; his sending his Horses to and fro, and having more than usual, his hurrying them away on the Disappointment; hiding his Arms in a suspected manner, by the Concurrence of *Charnock*, a suspicious Person, who had confessed the intended Assassination, and his removing and burying them on the Discovery of the Plot, were all concurring Evidences.

vidences. Sir *William* hereupon desired the Jury to have pitty on his Age and Family, and to interpret things in the best sence, where a Man's Blood depended on it. Which the King's Council took notice of, and told the Jury, That what had been said was not to extinguish their Compassion, but Sir *William* ought to have had pitty on himself; and that the Party shew'd themselves void of all pitty, when they persued their Attempts to Murder the best of Princes, and the best of Men, and involve the Kingdom in Blood and Ruine. So that the Charge being given to the Jury, they withdrew for about half an Hour, and brought him in guilty of High-Treason. Sir *John Friend* was afterwards brought to the Bar, and alledged, That he was convicted only by *Porter's* Evidence to one Overt-act, and desir'd he might be allowed Council. But the Court made it appear, that Capt. *Blair* had also proved his giving of Money, &c. for the said Design, and therefore they could not allow him Council on that Head. So that betwext six and seven a Clock the Common-Serjeant past Judgment upon Sir *William Perkins* and him both, as is usual in Cases of High-Treason: whereupon they were remanded to *Newgate*. And such Friends as desired to come to them at seasonable times, had admittance, and particularly the Ministers whom they approved, to forward them in a Preperation for that Death which was so near approaching.

And during the Respite a Committe of

the Honourable House of Commons, were sent to know what Discovery Sir *William Perkins*, &c. would make, whereby some Attonement might be render'd for the Crimes committed; but this was altogether declined by the Prisoner, who made Excuses that he had been the occasion of drawing many Persons in, and he would rather die than throw their Lives into the hazard, though thereby he might save his own, or to this effect; so that finding him obstinately bent not to his discover his Accomplices, they returned and made their Report.

And now the Warrant signed for the Execution of Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Perkins*, being brought to *Newgate*, they had notice to prepare for Death, and after 9 Days respite from the time they received Sentence, they were convey'd in a Sledge to the place of Execution, and their put in to a Cart, where they said little of publick concern; they had 3 Non-jurant Parsons to assist them, viz. Mr. *Sneat*, Mr. *Cook*, and Mr. *Cholier*, who after they had prayed and were preparing for their last Exit, gave them Absolution; the Sheriffs indulged them in taking all the time they desired, and at last they each of them deliver'd the Sheriffs a Paper, desiring they might be Printed for publick satisfaction, especially Sir *John Friend*, who with great earnestness entreated it; and in his Paper he insisted to justifie himself upon the Cause he had espoused, viz. the Interest of the late King *James*,  
see.



seeming to have much confidence, he was mightily injured, and that he would one Day be Restored; he denied not he was concern'd in the matter charged against him, but that he had not notice the intended Descent was in any such forwardness, and consequently himself not in so forward a preparation as was alledged; he owned himself to be a Member of the Church of *England*, though as he in his Paper says, an Unworthy one; he seems to be sorry he had objected at his Tryal against the Legality of *Papish* Evidence against *Protestants*, desiring it might not be took by them as an uncharitable Censure, because what he did in that case was for his own security upon the foundation of a Statute Law: he desired to Die in Charity with all Men; yet made some Reflections upon the Account of the Assassination, being insinuated at his Tryal, and so concludes with some Admonitions, and expressing a willing Resignation to Die, winding up all with a Prayer, wherein he particularly takes notice of the late King and Queen, and his little Master.

Sir *William Perkins* in his Paper delivered at the same time, owned he had seen a Commission from the late King, but it was not as had been alledged, to levy War upon the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, but the tenour of the Commission was general, and directed to all his loving Subjects, to raise and levy War against the Prince of *Orange* and his Adherents, and to seize all

[ 224 ]

Forts, Castles, &c. yet he owns he was privy to the Design upon the King, but was not to Act in it, and thought it, for his Honour, to say he was entirely in the Interest of the King, (meaning the late King *James*) and so persists to insinuate his Right and the Injury he supposed he had received; concluding, he freely forgave all the World, asking hearty Pardon of whom ever he had injured.

These are briefly the Sum of these Gentlemen's Papers, signed with their Names, and delivered with their own Hands, wherein the Proceedings against them are justified in so plain Confessions, that no scruple is left for doubt; but this Plot in both its Branches springing from one wicked Root, was carried on with all the Zeal and Industry imaginable; and it appears, some cunning Shopkeepers of Jesuits, or others, that come very near them, had so corrupted Sir *John Friend's* Judgment, that he further in his Paper declares, *He verily believes this Pernicious Undertaking to be the Cause of God;* and Sir *William Perkins* but lamely excuses the Commission, when he says, *It was not to levy War upon the Person of the Prince of Orange but,* which certainly is all one, in any reasonable Man's Conjecture, viz. to raise and levy War against the Prince of Orange and his Adherents; for all the difference in it can scarcely make any plausible Equivocation, much less to induce us to believe the intent was not one and the same seeing

seeing Sir *George Berklay* came over on purpose to gather and encourage Persons to undertake the intended Assassination.

But to proceed, The Bodies being cut down, were Quartered according to Sentence, and the Quarters set up on *Temple-Bar*, and other publick-Places about the City; soon after the three Absolving Parsons, for doing that Office to Men who dy'd justifying the Crimes for which they suffer'd, and some other Reasons, had Warrants issued out against them, and two of them, *viz.* Mr. *Cook* and Mr. *Sneat*, being soon after apprehended, were committed to *Newgate*, upon Suspicion of Treason and Treasonable Practices, several of the Reverend Clergy declaring their dislike, and disowning the Proceedings of those Persons in their giving Absolution so rashly, if not unadvisedly.

As for the suffering Persons, Sir *John Friend*, from a mean Condition, some say, a Dray-man, others a Tun-man, raised himself by his Industry and Marriage, to a competent Fortune, having been a Master-Brewer of considerable Dealings for many Years, and by his Incomes purchased a pretty Estate, on which he might have lived comfortably all his Days, had not his own Rashness, and being too much swayed by disaffected Persons, so blinded him, that he could not discern his true Interest from a false one, that precipitated him into ruine, and left a lasting stain on his Memory.

Sir *William Perkins* was a Gentleman by Birth, and had been brought up to the Study of the Law; he had a small Estate lying about *Bushey* in *Hartfordshire*, and some other places; he had not long since a considerable Place depending on the High Court of *Chancery*, but it seems, being disgusted at the present Government, to prevent, as is supposed, taking the Oaths to be true to it, he sold it for 6000 Pounds, most of which Money it is thought he spent in advancing the Interest of the late King; in which, as he says in his Paper, he was entirely in, as always 'being firmly perswaded of the Justice of his Cause, and looked upon it as his Duty, as a Subject and *Englishman*, to assist him in the Recovery of his Throne, &c. And in the same Paper tells you boasting, he thought it was for his Honour to lay, *That he was so*: He left behind him a Wife and four Children, but had so far run out in these, and such like Intrigues, that he left them but very slender Fortunes to subsist on. And now after all this further plain Demonstration of a Plot and Conspiracy, by the Confession of the dying Conspirators, it is a pleasant thing to consider how *M. Devizee*, the Author of the *French Mercury* is puzzled to palliate the Mis-carriage of the Design; for, says he, at the end of his *Mercury* for the Month of *March*,

The News from *England* having failed us for want of three Gazettes, we can only attribute this delay to the bad condition of Affairs

Affairs in the Country ; the Disorders of which they would fain conceal : The Prince of *Orange* is convinc'd he has not the Hearts of his People, which is the reason that he has sent for 20000 Men from Countries, where such a Force can be but ill spared : There is no News of the King of *England*, (meaning King *James* ;) nor indeed is there any necessity for him to act more than he does, till he sees his Kingdoms all in confusion, where the Prince of *Orange* has feigned a Conspiracy against himself, and charged three or four Persons with a Design to have Assassinated him, that never stirred out of the Castle of *St. Germaines en Lay*, and are there still : There are a hundred Contradictions in what they publish at *London*, touching the Conspiracy ; I will give such a particular account of it, that the World shall no longer doubt of the Falseness of what is affirmed upon this Subject.

Did this stuff deserve a Refutation, it might be done with ease even in *France*, but this *Devizee* is a Man so terribly insolent, and so cryed down, that there is no fear of the Publicks giving Credit to his Fables : This however is observable, That whilst he is labouring to clear his Master from the Guilt of the Conspiracy, he has blundered out very suspicious Expressions, as I am not apt to believe, before he was aware : For (says he) *we hear nothing of King James, nor indeed is there any necessity for him to act more*

than he does, till he sees his Kingdoms all in Confusion : That I suppose, in his sence is, all in confusion and distraction, terrified, astonished, without Conduct, without Obedience for want of their Sovereign Head, or Chieftain, by the Assassination of King William.

This certainly must be the genuine Construction of the Words, that will not naturally bear any other signification : But we have the happiness to see that defeated, and the King centered in the Love of his Subjects, so that there is not the least appearance of any likelihood they will fall into Confusion.

There having been an Indictment of High-Treason found against *Ambrose Rookwood*, *Charles Cranbourne*, and *Robert Lowick*, by a *Middlesex* Jury, at the Court of *King's-Bench*, *Westminster*, they were brought up, and severally Arraigned, and pleading not guilty, had Council assigned them to advise with, a Copy of the Indictment allowed, and a Pannel of the Jury summoned to try them according to the direction of the Act, commencing the 25th of *March* last, for regulating Tryals in case of High-Treason, and were remanded to *Newgate* to prepare for their Defence, having about a Weeks time allowed them ; when

On *Tuesday* the 21st of *April*, they were again brought up in order to their Tryals, when the Court being sat, about Eight in the Morning, their Council moved to put off



off the Tryal, because the Pannel of the Jury, according to the new Act, ought to be delivered two Days before the Tryal, and that it could not be said truly to be delivered, till returned by the Sheriff into Court, with some other Exceptions; but the King's Council answering this and the other Objections, and the Court seeing it was not a sufficient cause to put off the Tryal; *Rookwood*, who was first Tried, was ordered to look to his Challenges, upon calling over the Jury, which he did, and excepted against more than twenty.

Then the Indictment was read, setting forth, That the Prisoner with *Cranbourne*, *Lowick*, *Knightley*, and divers others false Traytors, had conspired the Death of His Majesty, to subvert the Government, and Invite, or bring in a Forreign Power to Invade the Kingdom, with much more at large charged against him. Then the Prisoner's Council made Exceptions to the Indictment after the Jury was sworn, in order to quash it, but were told, this was offered out of time, and being over-ruled, they submitted to the Court; then the Witnesses were called, and first *Capt. Porter*, who deposed, (being sworn) How the Design was carried on in general, as has been in other Tryals declared, and particularly to the Prisoner, that he was present at a Consult held at the *Globe-Tavern* in *Hatton-Garden*, where there were *Sir G. Barklay*, *Mr. Charnock* and himself, there the intended Assassination was di-

scourfed of, and then Mr. *Rookwood* seemed to dislike it as hazardous and full of dangers; but after Sir *George* had discoursed him, and asked him if he would not obey Orders, telling him withal, he should Command one of the Parties; he said, Then there's an end of it; the meaning of which Expression the Deponant took for his consent in complying to be one in the Undertaking: That on *Saturday, Feb. 15.* when the first Attempt was to be made to Assassinate the King, one of the Orderly Men brought word to the Deponant's Lodging, That the Guards were gone, and that the King was to go a Hunting, attended by many Gentlemen, then they fear'd their Design would be spoiled; but the Witneis told them, *Those Gentlemen would soon disperse themselves after the Hunting;* and so they relolved to go on with their Design, and to prepare themselves accordingly, and that Mr. *Rookwood* was one of the number: But however they were then disappointed by the King's not going abroad; that he gave Mr. *Rookwood* a List of the Names of those that were to be concerned, and that he was to be one of them.

Hereupon Mr. *Rookwood's* Council objected against Capt. *Porter's* being a legal-Evidence, for that he had been Convicted of Man-slaughter for the Death of Sir *James Haoker*, and produced the Record, but it appeared he had King *Charles the Second's* Pardon for it, and that there had been several

ral General Pardons since, by which it was pardoned, if he had not had the former. Then they called Mr. *Milford*, Mr. *Oldfield*, and one *Black Will*, to prove him of a Wicked, Debauch'd Life and Conversation, but instead of that their Evidence made for his Credit, saying, they knew no harm by him: *Black Will* said, he had been his Servant, and he had been a very good Master to him; and all that was said in the matter, as to his Dis-reputation, was, *That he would talk of Whoring sometimes.*

This being briefly the Evidence of Capt. Porter, Mr. *George Harris* was Sworn against him; the Prisoner's Council made some Exceptions, for that he had discovered and apprehended him, and was to have the 1000*l.* and a Pardon promised in the Proclamation, which might engage him to swear against him for Lucre and Self-preservation, but were told by the Court, it was a mistake, for that the Money, &c. was already his Right upon the Apprehending, and if the Prisoner had never been Tried, he must have had it, according to the words of the Proclamation, which being read, convinced them they were in the wrong, then he proceeded to give his Evidence, the Sum of which was as followeth:

That he was sent from *France* with one *Hae*, to obey the Orders of Sir *George Barkley*, and soon after they arrived at *London*, where they attended *Mondays* and *Thursdays*, to find Sir *George Barkley*, but did

did not ; yet meeting with one *Birkenhead*, with whom they had some Acquaintance, he told them where *Sir George* was ; and after that they had Subsistence from him, *viz.* 5 s. per Day, when they had no Horses, and were promised 6, when they had got Horses: He further deposed, That going to wait on *Sir George*, he told him what he was to do, *viz.* *That he and others, were his Janizaries, and must Attack the Prince of Orange* ; whereat, hearing he was sent over to assist in killing the King, he expressed some discontent, saying, *He was sent over, instead of being recompenced for his Service, to be Sacrificed.* He deposed, That *Mr. Rookwood* was not very hot, or forward in the Design, but that he was there when the Assassination was agreed to, and did agree to be one in it, telling him, *He should be one of his Party*, and gave him a List of the rest that were to be under him ; That he went by a counterfeit Name, *viz.* *Roberts* ; and the late King had ordered this Deponant on his coming over, to go by the Name of *Jenkins*. This Evidence being given,

The Earl of *Feversham's* Postillion and Coachman were Sworn, and gave the Court an Account, *Mr. Lewis*, Gentleman of the Horse, to the said Earl, kept six or seven Horses in close Stables at *Sommerfet House*, which were often carried out, and brought in, in a suspicious manner ; and of these it was said by the other Witnesses, that Brigadier *Rookwood* was to have one or two of them.

them to mount and fill up his Party, or that it was so discoursed.

The King's Council having summ'd up the Evidence, the Jury withdrawing about half an hour, brought in their Verdict, *That Ambrose Rookwood was Guilty of High-Treason*; and the Court Adjourned till four in the Afternoon.

The Court being again sat, Mr. *Charles Cranbourne* was set to the Bar, his Council laboured to find a defect in the Indictment, but there appearing none, The Tryal commenced: The Evidence against him was, Capt. *Porter*, M. *De la Rue*, and Mr. *Pendergrafs*, his Indictment was the same; it was proved against him, That he was privy and consenting to the Design, had provided Horses and Arms, carried the Lists of the Names of such as were to be Actors in it, from one Person to another; and it was positive, that himself was to be one; that he had procured a Sword-Cutler to furnish Arms and other things parallel to the Evidence against the former.

Hereupon he called a Witness to discredit Capt. *Porter's* Evidence, viz. a Maid that had liv'd with him, to prove that he had Masks, or Visiards, which he would have insinuated, were to be made use of on the High-way; but no such thing appearing, that Objection was laid aside: Then one *Gun* was called to prove, That at the *Sun Tavern* in the *Strand*, he was with the Captain and himself the Night before the designed

signed Assassination was to have been ; whereas he alledged, Capt. Porter said, *There was no Body with him* ; but the Captain not being positive in that ; and Gun deposing he left the Prisoner at the Tavern, this weighed as little to his advantage as the former ; so that after a hearing of all that the Prisoner or his Council could say, the Evidence was sum'd up, and the Jury withdrawing, in less then half an hour returned their Verdict, *That Charles Cranbourne was Guilty of High-Treason* ; and the Court Adjourned to seven next Morning.

When Major *Robert Lowick* was brought to his Tryal, and having the same Council, they pleaded very much to have the Indictment quashed ; but the King's Council answering their Objections, the Tryal came on ;

And Mr. *Harris* heing sworn, he deposed, That Maj. *Lowick* had discouried Sir *George Barklay*, at a Confectioner's near *Gray's-Inn*, and that the Deponant talking with the Prisoner about the Design, expressed his Abhorrence of it, as a thing that would be odious in the Eyes of all the World ; but Major *Lowick* reply'd, *He would obey Orders, and was sure Sir George Barklay would not Enterprize it without Orders* ; that he Din'd with him the 22d of Febr. and they feared the Business was discovered, and then he told him, *He maintained two Men upon this Design at his own Charge, and now must go and discharge them, there being no further*



fu. ther occasion for them; it being muttered, that M. De la Rue had made a Discovery.

Mr. Bertram deposed, That in February Major Lowick told him, *That there was something to do that might be advantageous to him,* but withal required him to ask him no Questions: That on the 14th of Febr. he told him, *He must Ride out, and that the King was to be seized in his Coach;* and thereupon he gave him a Guinea to buy Necessaries, to prepare for the Undertaking the next Day, but he did not meet, as thinking the Design not only dangerous and full of hazard, but unlawful and base, and at the next Meeting he chid him, because he came not, saying, *He would have served him so, if the King had been in the Field.*

Capt. Fisher gave Evidence, That Major Lowick said, *He would be ready to serve King James to the utmost;* and withal, as a caution, told him, *It was not safe to talk about such things to above one at a time.*

This being in brief the substance of the Evidence against the Prisoner, the Jury going out, within half an hour returned their Verdict, *That Robert Lowick was Guilty of High-Treason:* After which, Mr. Rockwood and Mr. Cranbourne were brought to the Bar, and all three receiv'd Sentence of Death to be Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd.

On the 29th of April, after eight or nine Days respite, to prepare themselves for a future State; the Warrant being come for their

their Execution, they were conveyed in a Sledge to Tyburn; where, being put into a Cart, *Cranburne* said, He was of the Church of England; owning what Capt. Porter, Mr. Pendergrass, and Monsieur *De la Rue* had sworn against him was true; yet seemed to stand in the Justification of what he had done, vainly stiling it a Righteous Cause, for which he suffered; nor was he less careful to remember in his Devotion the late King and Queen, &c.

As for *Rookwood* and *Lowick*, they were of another Religion, viz. Roman Catholics, and therefore their Devotions consisted mostly of *Jesu Maria's* and *Pater Nosters*; and both of them order'd their Papers to be delivered to the Sheriffs; the substance of them was this, Mr. *Rookwood* declared in his Paper, He intended to have died in silence, but second Thoughts of his Duty to the late King, had moved him to leave this behind him, viz. That he never knew, saw, or heard of any Order or Commission from him, for the Assassination, or Attacking the Guards; but had been informed he had rejected such Proposals when made to him: But that himself, as a Soldier, by his immediate Commander, much against his Judgment, was engaged in it. [*Insinuating, as if he was to Obey, and Act according to Command; though no reasonable Man could think any Command was binding to undertake so wicked an Act.*] He acknowledged he had served the late King 12 Years, and

and was free to lay down his Life in his Cause. And though in the Paper he says, He ever abhorred Treachery, even to an Enemy: [*Yet in this he utterly contradicts himself; For what greater Treachery could there be, than to agree to lay wait for a Prince that never injured him, and by Surprise, murder him in cool Blood.*] He seems angry with the King for signing the Warrant for his Execution, because being a Soldier, he did not consider his Case. [*As if the King, because he is a Soldier, had any reason to spare a Soldier that design'd to Murder him the basest of ways.*] He asks Forgiveness, and says, he forgives every Body from his Heart; but seems to conclude with an odd kind of Menace; *But that God who has hitherto protected His Majesty in so many eminent Dangers, will, no doubt, still preserve him from the Rage and Malice of Wicked and Violent Men.*

Mr. Lowick, in his Paper, appears more moderate, saying, He died in the Religion he was Baptized in, viz. the Roman Catholic; he denied, as the other, that he saw any Commission for the Assassination; but believed the late King was coming, and that if he had Landed, he would have done any thing in his power to have assisted him; and in order to that, he should have been glad to have had a Horse, though before he had none. As for his being concerned in any bloody Affair, as he there expresses it, he alledged, he never was in his Life, but ende-

deavoured to prevent, as much as he could, on all occasions; and goes on, fain to make us believe, That if the killing the most miserable *Creature* in the World, or greatest *Enemy*, would have saved his Life, Restored the late King, and made him one of the greatest Men in *England*, he would first chuse to die, because it was against the Law of God. Though a little before he owns, he would have been in Arms to assist in the Desolation of his Conntry, and Destruction of many Lives, upon the Landing of a Foreign Force, for no other it would have been had they prevailed, or had they not, much Blood must have been spilt. The rest is his asking Forgiveness and Pardon of those he had offended; praying for the late King and Queen, and all the Royal Blood of the *Stuarts*, &c. He said, he had had the Honour to serve the late King in several Commissions, the last as Major, and strove ever to serve him to the best of his power, and ever was just to those he had the Honour to Command.

After they were turned off, and hung the usual time, they were cut down and Quartered, and their Quarters placed on the City Gates.

As for Mr. *Rookwood*, he was Born of a good Family, but living beyond his Fortune, was constrained to take a Soldier's Life upon him, being a Trooper in the *Hounslow-Heath* Camp, and following the late King's bad Fortune into *France*, he was so far taken

ken notice of, as to be advanced to the Nominal Preferment of a Brigadier in the Guards, and had the Stile of Capt. *Rookwood*, though without the Pay, or Profit of the Place; so that Sir *George Berkley*, a *Scot*, being his Lieutenant-Collonel, he was sent over hither to act by his Orders, and Engaged in the fatally intended Mischief, that brought him to this Untimely End.

*Cranbourne* was the Son of a *Seeds-man*, in the *Strand*, very Wild and Extravagant in his Youth, not to be reclaimed by his Industrious Parents, but throwing himself upon Extravagant Company, and beyond all retrieve, he was left to a desperate Fortune, which made him, as a *Last Shift*, betake himself to a *Soldier's Life*, but the Army commanded by the Earl of *Feversham*, being Disbanded, on the Revolution, he loytered up and down, and had some little Subsistence from his Friends, supplying the rest by Gaming, and such like Intrigues, and being in this Condition, fit to be wrought on, thinking to better his bad Fortune, he was drawn into this Business, and appeared a very zealous and forward Tool in promoting it, not shewing any Token of Reluctancy to the last Moment of his Life.

*Lowick*, as the other were Young, was a Man of Years, come of a good Family in *Yorkshire*, but run out his Estate; he was a Major under the late King, and appeared to take much Pleasure in a *Soldier's Life*, having in one Station or other, followed it almost

most from his Youth, and though he was a very wary and sensible Man, yet being a *Roman Catholick* born, and disgusted with the present Government, he engaged with others, out of a heat of blind Zeal, for the carrying on this wicked Design, though at his Death he seemed to Evade it.

By these Proceedings of Justice, our Enemies no doubt perceive the Government is in earnest, whom they thought for a while only dallied with them, which, it is hoped, will make disaffected Persons more cautious how they attempt to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom for the future.

Thus the Kingdom, in a great measure, being by the Providence of Almighty God, and His Majesty's indefatigable Endeavours, secured from Forreign Invasion, and Domestic Conspiracies, His Majesty began to think of hastening his return to the Army in *Flanders*; to which purpose, that he might put an end to the present Sessions of Parliament, on the 27th of *April* he repaired to the House of Lords, and gave the Royal Assent to the several Acts.

After this, he was graciously pleased to impart his Mind to both Houses in the following manner.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

*You have shewn so great Concern for my Person, and Zeal for my Government, and have done so much for the Preservation of the one, and for the strengthening the other, by the*



[ 141 ]

the good Laws which have been made, and by the Supplies you have provided for the several Occasions of this Year, that the late Designs of our Enemies are (by the Blessing of God) like to have no other Effect, than to let them see how firmly we are united, and to give me this Occasion to acknowledge your Kindness, and to assure you of all the Returns which a Prince can make to his People.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Necessity of Affairs require my Absence out of the Kingdom for some time; I do earnestly recommend to you, That in your several Stations you will be assisting to those who I shall leave to Administer the Government; and that you will be careful in preserving the publick Peace of the Kingdom.

So soon as His Majesty had done speaking, the Lord Keeper, by His Majesty's Command, Prorogued the Parliament, till Tuesday the 16th Day of June.

During this Solemnity, not one of the Nobles were permitted to enter the House without their Robes of State; and the Reason, as is said, was to the end the Venetian Ambassadors, who arrived in London on the 11th of April, and were invited to the Solemnity, might be Spectators of their Grandure, and perhaps it might be said, *Had it been possible for them to have seen the Senate of Rome in all her antient Glory, they could not have been pleased with a more Magnificent Sight.*

Soon

Soon after this, His Majesty's Equipage was made ready, in order to his Embarking for *Holland*, where he safely Landed, to breath once more a Terror on the Armies of his Enemies, and, in Martial Thunder, speak aloud his Resentments of the Treachery contrived at the *French* Court, to hinder him, as, no doubt, they hoped, from winning the Lawrels due to his Merit, Courage and Fame.

And now *Lewis* XIV. if he dare venture so near, as a Prospective-Glass Kenn, may have the Mortification to see Heavens Favourite, defying his Malice and utmost Force at the Head of his Victorious Troops.

Mr. *Peter Cook*, having been Apprehended and Committed to *Newgate* for High-Treason, an Indictment was some time after found against him at the *Old-Baily*, and he had notice to prepare for his Tryal, when on the 9th of *May* he was brought to the Sessions-House in order to it, but few of the Jury Impannell'd appearing, there was only nine, beside what he excepted, could be Sworn, whereupon his Tryal was put off, till *Wednesday, May 13.* when his Council laboured in their Pleading, to have the Indictment quashed, by reason of some Deficiency they alledged in the former Pannel, and afterward proceeded to make some Exceptions to the Indictment, but being over-ruled by the Court, they submitted: Then the Prisoner desired the Courts Opinion, if he might not make an Exception in the Pannel

to such Jury-men as lie might make proof against to have said, *He should be found Guilty, or suffer Damage*; and was answered, *He might*: Then one of the Jury-men was asked that Question, but denied to have said any such thing. Then the Court told him, *It was not fair to offer such Questions to the Jury-men, for they were not bound to Accuse themselves; and if any of them had so said beforehand, it was Opprobrious.*

Upon this the Pannel was called over, and Mr. Cook questioned each, as called, *Whether he was a Freeholder of 10 l. per Annum, or were of the Grand Jury that found the Bill?* So that some who appeared not to be Freeholders, were set aside; and after he had made his Exceptions against 35, twelve were Sworn, and then the Court proceeded to the Tryal upon the Indictments being read, which was laid, for Compassing and Imagining the Death of the King, &c. And the Overt-Act was, *That the Prisoner, on the first of July, in the Seventh Year of His Majesty's Reign, did, with several other Traytors, consult about Methods to facilitate the late King's Restoration, and agreed with them, That Charnock should be sent over to France, to solicit the late King to obtain 8000 Foot, 1000 Horse, and 1000 Dragoons from the French King, &c. to Invade England; and that to assure the late King, that they would joyn him on his Landing with 2000 Horse.*

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The Prisoner mov'd, before the Witnesses were examin'd, that the one of them might not hear what the other swore ; which the Court told him, was not necessary to be granted, but however, they would allow it him.

Then the King's Council opened the Indictment, and gave the same Narrative of the Plot, which we have given in other *Tryals*; observing, that the Prisoner and others, met in *May* last Year, after the King was gone to *Flanders*, at the *Old King's Head* in *Leadenhall-street*, where were present, *Sir John Friend*, *Sir William Perkins*, *Capt. Porter*, *Capt. Charnock*, the Prisoner, and others; and *Mr. Goodman* came in after Dinner: And consulting about Restoring the late King, they thought then they had a proper Opportunity, because of the King's Absence, and that most of our Troops were in *Flanders*. The King's Council added, *That though the Assassination was the blackest part of the Plot, yet it was undertaken in hopes of a French Invasion, and therefore the Invasion must not be look'd upon as a diminutive Crime.* Then *Capt. Porter* was set up, who depos'd, as to the Meeting of the Prisoner, and the rest, at the *Old King's Head* in *Leadenhall-street*, where they consulted, and came to the Result, of sending *Charnock* into *France*, &c. to which the Prisoner agreed: And that upon *Charnock's* desiring a second Meeting, to know if they persisted in their Resolution, the Prisoner, and the rest, met accord-

ingly at Mrs. *Montjoy's* House in *Covent-Garden*, where the Prisoner agreed again to the sending of *Charnock* to *France*, &c. as above.

The Captain did also depose, That they thought to escape after the *Assassination*, because of the *French* Invasion, which Sir *George Berklay* told them would be in five or six Days after ; and he remembred, that the Meeting was in *May*, because he was taken up for the *Drury-Lane-Riot* in a little time after.

Then Mr. *Goodman* was set up, who depos'd, That about the middle of *May*, last Year, Capt. *Porter* sent word to him, That there was to be a meeting of the late King's Friends, at the *Old King's Head*, in *Leaden-hall-street*, to which the Deponant promis'd to come after Dinner ; and having gone thither accordingly, he sent up his Name to Capt. *Porter*, who came and carried him up with him to the Room, where there were the Prisoner at the Bar and others ; that they fell into discourse about facilitating the late King's Restoration, and agreed to send *Charnock* to *France*, &c. with the Message above-mentioned, and to assure the late King, in all their Names, that they would joyn him with 2000 Horse to favour his Descent, and with more if they could : That there happened some Debate about the Number ; and Sir *John Friend* alledged, That the late King had so many Friends, that he might Land when he would ; which

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the Company disapprov'd, and said, *That he was no Friend to King James, who would advise so.* He depos'd further, *That every Man who was there, and the Prisoner at the Bar in particular, said to Charnock, You may go to King James with this Message;* and that the Prisoner lean'd upon the Table when he said so.

Then the Council endeavour'd to take off Mr. Goodman's Evidence; and for that end, they did in the first place bring in the Record of a Conviction against him, for having promis'd 40 Guinea's to one *Amadi an Italian*, to mix two Flasks of *Florence Wine* with Poison, and to give the same to *Henry Duke of Grafton*, and *George Duke of Northumberland*, for which he was fin'd 1000 l. and it appear'd by the same Record, that he had satisfisd the same the next Term following.

In the next place they call'd one Mr. *Edwards*, whom they had Subpoena'd and brought from Prison by a *Habeas Corpus*: He depos'd, That he ask'd Goodman, What Mr. Cook was to be Try'd for? And that he told him, *It was for sending Charnock over to France, and that Capt. Porter and himself were to be the Evidence against him: That Cook had Sworn against him the said Goodman, and that either Cook or he must suffer.* Adding, *That it was a foolish thing to be Hang'd, for all that would be said of them was, They Hang'd handsomly, or Dy'd bravely.*

Then



Then *Crawford*, one of the Drawers at the *King's Head*, Swore, He did not see *Goodman* there, till some of the Company went away; and a little after, that he did not see *Goodman* at all, but own'd, that he was not constantly in the Room, and that he waited upon another Company.

*Huntly* swore to the same effect, but with this difference, That he attended no other Company, and went frequently up and down Stairs, and never saw *Goodman*.

*Cock*, the Master of the House, swore also to the same effect, and that eight Persons, whereof the Prisoner was one, Din'd there; and that he was six times in the Room after Dinner, and did not remember that he saw *Goodman* there. Then the Prisoner ask'd Mr. *Goodman*, if ever he had heard him speak ten Words, or had ever been in his Company but that time? Who answer'd, That he had been with him at the *Cock* in *Covent-Garden*, and that what he had sworn against him was true.

The Prisoner's Man deposed, That his Master was taken at his *Father's House*, and in his own Room, three Weeks after the Discovery.

Mr. *Hammond* deposed, That he took Mr. *Cook* to be a pious, conscientious Man; that he understood he never rose nor went to Bed without saying Prayers; That he had heard him express himself with abhorrence of a French Invasion, and wish our Fleet good Success against France.

Then the King's Counsel made their Observations upon the Prisoner's Evidence, viz. That *Edwards* was committed on suspicion of Treason, as to be concerned in the *Assassination*. And that the other Witnesses were not positive as to Mr. *Goodman*'s not having been there, but only not that they remembered.

Upon which Monsieur *de la Rue* was call'd, who depos'd, That he knew *Edwards* at *St. Germain*'s three Years ago, and that he told him, He was Captain to the late Viscount of *Dundee* in *Scotland*; that he us'd to go by the Name of *Douglas*, and that he brought the List of *Charnock*'s *Assassins* to Mr. *Porter*, of which himself was one, by the Name of *Douglas*.

Then Capt. *Porter* depos'd, That *Edwards* was in *Charnock*'s List, that *Goodman* was there before any of the Company went away; likewise, That he himself brought *Goodman* up to the Room, and that he staid at least two Hours after Dinner, &c.

Mr. *Goodman* being confronted with *Cock*, depos'd, That though he pretended not to know him, yet he had been several times at his House, and that very Day of the Consult being ill, he ask'd him for some Brandy; which *Cock* told him, he should have as good as any in *England*; whereupon *Goodman* ask'd him, What he would take for a Gallon of it? But *Cock* depos'd, That he remembered nothing of it.

The Prisoner's Council made Observations upon *Goodman's* Evidence, and insisted upon its not being Credible, because opposed by three others, and his being Convicted of the Poysoning Design above-mentioned, &c. and the Prisoner himself pleaded the tenour of his Conversation, his Love to his Country, and the Quiet of his Country, his willingness to take the Oath to the Government, if tendered, and took God to Witness, with many direful Imprecations, that he was no way concern'd in the Invasion; and said, That he must declare so at his Death.

The King's Council, and the Lord Chief Justice *Treby*, answer'd the Objections of the Prisoner's Council to this effect, That if *Goodman's* Evidence was false, then *Porter's* must be so too, though it had been own'd to be true by Dying Criminals executed for the same *Treason*; that as for the Poysoning Design, it appear'd by the Satisfaction accepted next *Term* after, that the Evidence against him, on that hand, was not thought credible; but however, he now stood pardon'd; and his being concern'd in the Design to Assassinate the King, which was an higher Crime, not rendring him an illegal Witness, much less could the Poysoning Design do it. That as to *Goodman's* swearing to save his own Life, Mr. *Cook* and he had both of them reason to be afraid of each other, according as either of them should be made use of as Evidence by the

Government, seeing they were both Guilty : That the Drawers own'd, that Mr. *Gordman* might come thither, and they not know it; and that both their Evidence, and their Master's, was Negative. That as to the Character given of the Prisoner, and his solemn Denial of the Fact, the like had been given to others in the same Circumstances: It appearing upon Record, that Sir *John Friend* had attended Prayers for the present Government, and had solemnly Denied at his *Trial*, what he afterwards confessed. And just as the Jury was withdrawing, the Lord Chief Justice recall'd 'em, to observe, That whereas the Prisoner's Counsel alledg'd, That the Evidence pitch'd upon *May*, because if they had pitch'd upon *April*, that would have been within the Pardon; and if they had pitch'd on *June*, they were in *Newgate* for the Riot: The Drawers had confirm'd what was said by the King's Evidence, that the *Meeting* was in *May*, or to that effect: And the Jury withdrawing about an Hour, they brought the Prisoners in Guilty.

Capt. *Knightley's Trial* having been for some time delayed, by reason of a Mistake in the Indictment, and that being rectified, he was on the 20th of *May* brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar, when the Court being sate, upon his Arraignment he pleaded Guilty to the Indictment; wherein he acknowledged himself Guilty of the intended Assassination and Invasion, as layed and char-

charged on him in the Indictment, and mentioned against him in several *Tryals*, saying, He had much Remorse of Conscience about undertaking to Enterprize so wicked a Design, earnestly entreating the whole Court to interceed with His Majesty to extend His Grace and Mercy towards him; whereupon he was remanded to *Newgate*, and ordered to be brought to the Bar of the Court, to receive Sentence, which since he has received, as in Cases of *High Treason*; so that in the close of all we may see the matter so plain, that nothing in the World can be more apparent.

Since these Proceedings, divers Persons, who were taken up as suspected to be ill affected to the Government, and no Prosecution against them, have by the Lords Justices been discharged out of several Prisons in and about *London*, &c.

Mr. *Peter Cook*, having been reprieved from time to time, at his earnest supplication, and that of his Friends at home, and such as attended his Majesty the last Campaign beyond the Seas, with his much appearing sorrow for being concerned in so bad a matter; has hitherto gained a respite from the Execution of the Sentence that passed upon him at the *Old-Baily*, but how fair he may stand for a Pardon, we determine not; however, this may be something of comfort, that he is fallen into the hands of a Prince composed of mercy and tenderness, which are even extended to his Enemies, when they show

show sincere signs of true penitency for their Misdoings.

No diligence was wanting to secure the Government in Peace and Tranquility at home, to detect such Traytors as yet absconded, and to have an eye on such as were noted to be disaffected, and a Proclamation being issued out, for the Apprehending Sir *John Fenwick*, Baronet, accused upon Oath, to be deeply concerned in the Plot, and Conspiracy of *January* and *February* 1695. He after divers Attempts to make his Escape beyond the Seas, and a diligent search after him, was Apprehended, and brought to Town under a strong Guard, and upon Examination, committed to *Newgate*, where he had notice to prepare for his Tryal, and an Indictment was preferred against him at the Sessions of Oyer and Terminer, held at the *Old-Baily*, on the 28th of *May* last, wherein he was charged with High-Treason, in Compassing, and Imagining the death and destruction of his Majesty, and adhering to the King's Enemies, by consulting and agreeing with divers Persons, (whereof some had been attainted, and others not then brought to their Tryals, for the said Treasons) to send one *Robert Charnock* to the late King *James* in *France*, to Incite and Encourage the French King to Invade this Kingdom with an armed Force, by promising to joyn with, and assist him with Men and Arms upon such an Invasion, &c.

This



This, and other matters to the same effect, was sworn to by Captain *Porter*, and *Cardell Goodman*; and it had appeared at the Evidence on the Tryals of some already Convicted, that Sir *John* had been deeply engaged in this Business, and was at the Meetings, and Consults, and it appeared he had, or was to levy Horse, and joyn the Enemy on their landing, being himself to Command them, and shewed a great forwardness in the Undertaking; but however, at this time, his Tryal was delayed from time to time upon his repeated Promises of making a full and ingenuous Confession of the Design, or Conspiracy against his Majesty's Person, or Government, and of the Persons concerned therein.

Whilest these things happened, *Cardell Goodman*, one of the principal Evidences against Sir *John Fenwick*, having obtained his liberty upon Bail, instead of doing his duty, in remaining and standing firm to the evidence he had delivered, and what farther he might have done for the Service of the Government, withdrew himself, and though Proclamation was issued out, with a reward for Apprehending him, we do not hear that he is yet taken: And much about this time, one *Berkenhead* mentioned in one of the Proclamations, as deeply concern'd in this wicked trayterous Conspiracy, and for which he had been a considerable time confined in *Newgate*, in order to his Tryal, made his escape, and a Proclamation was issued out for

for the Apprehending him ; and endeavours were used with Captain *Porter*, to withdraw himself, and money given him to that purpose, but he ingenuously discovered the Tampering with him, securing both the money and the Person; which put a stop to their farther tempting him, by the exemplary punishment inflicted on the Offender, &c. So that by this, we see, there are not some wanting, that by under-hand practices labour to stifle one of the horridest Conspiracies the Nation has known, and at the relation whereof, Infidels have already blushed, and look on with horror and detestation; and it has all along been seen, that when the Designs of the Papists have failed in the intended Execution, how industrious they have been to palliate and smooth them over, and if possible, to corrupt or get the Evidence out of the way, or if that could not be done, to sham their Plots on innocent Persons, by that means hoping to stifle them, or cast the Odium from themselves, which plainly appeared in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second; when by turning the Current by Policies and Stratagems, they brought destruction on many worthy and loyal Persons, and created a misunderstanding between the King and his good Subjects, all which tended to no more, than they were bare-facedly bringing to pass in the next Reign, viz. To alter Religion, subvert the Laws, and enslave our Liberties; so that by such kind of devices, though Sir *John Fenwick's* Tryal,

al, (who had rashly, and unadvisedly, according to what was sworn against him, joined with the Enemies of the Nation, to bring about their pernicious Purposes and Designs, by Blood, and a number of Calamities that must have attended it) had come on as it was designed, he must have thought himself secure from danger, by deficiency of Evidence, as the Law requires, upon *Goodman's* being withdrawn, which the Consequence makes out, abated that apparent willingness, to make a free and ingenuous discovery, that before he seemed inclinable to, tho it proved but little to his Advantage, as will appear hereafter, but rather rendered him altogether unfit for that great Clemency and Indulgence, that had so long been extended towards him. In the mean while, the King having secured the Affairs in *Flanders*, and well settled all things, returned in Safety, to the joy, and satisfaction of his loving Subjects; and the Parliament meeting according to the time appointed, His Majesty in a Gracious Speech, among other things, acquainted both Houses, that some Overtures toward a Peace had been proposed: However, the best way to treat with *France*, was with the Sword in our Hands, &c. Whereupon, they unanimously Agreed, To stand by, and assist him with their Lives and Fortunes, and raise a sufficient Supply for the carrying on the War, &c. This, no doubt, gave an other Start to our Enemies, and set them back in their Account;

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so that every thing now looking with a propitious Aspect towards the Good and Tranquility of the Government.

And one thing more memorably Occurs, not improper to be incerted in this History, to the lasting Honour of the Loyal Citizens of London, viz. Presented some time before the meeting of the Parliament, to their Representatives, Members of that August Assembly, in these Words:

*We the Citizens of this City, considering that the Parliament is suddenly to meet, and seriously reflecting on the continual Endeavours of a bloody and disconted Party, who trusting upon the King's Clemency, and the Impunity they have hitherto met with, conspired to Assassinate His Majesty's Royal Person, and to overturn the Government, in order to Subject us under the Yoak of France; the dread of which, has made an incurable Wound in the credit of this Nation, and has had a full influence upon our Trade; we thought we could no longer keep silence upon so importunate an Occasion, whilst we behold our Religion, our Estates, our Liberties, and all that is most dear to us, in evident danger, but, that it was our Duty to declare our great-Zeal and Affection for the King, and our firm Resolution to aid and assist him with our Lives and Fortunes, against his Enemies, and the Enemies of the Nation, and to use our utmost endeavour to establish his Glory and our own Happiness.*

*And*

And because we have reason to believe, that the best, or rather the only means to preserve the King's Person, and settle the Government, is thoroughly to examine, in full Parliament, the last Conspiracy: We make it our earnest Request, That you will use your Endeavours, so soon as the Parliament shall meet, to procure the Examination of this detestable Plot, to the end, that the Conspirators, who have hitherto made it their business, not only to hold Correspondence with our Enemies, that so our Effects, and Merchants Ships might fall under their Hands, but also to undermine and ruin the best of Governments, may be discovered; without which, we presume to tell ye, That all other Expedients for the security of his Majesty's Person, and the Kingdom, will produce but little effects.

And now Sir John Fenwick, instead of a free and ingenuous Confession of his knowledge as to the Conspiracy, having contrived false and scandalous Papers, as his Informations, reflecting on the fidelity of several noble Peers, and divers Members of the House of Commons, and others, only by Hearsay, and contriving thereby to undermine the Government, and create a jealousy between the King and his Subjects, and to stifle the real Conspiracy; Russel acquainted the House of Commons, That his Majesty had been pleased to let his Council know what Proceedings had been against Sir John Fenwick, and to have the Papers of  
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his Informations read before them ; that in those Papers several Persons of Quality were named, and amongst others himself, and that his Majesty had given him leave to say this, and to Mr. Secretary, to lay the Papers before the House, if they should think fit to call for them ; and two Papers of Sir *John Fenwick's* Informations were delivered by Mr. Secretary, and read, and thereupon he was ordered to be brought in Custody from *Newgate*, and that no Person should be permitted to speak with him by the way, or to give any Paper to him, or receive any one from him ; and accordingly the same day, being the sixth of *November* 1696, he was brought to the Bar, and acquainted, That the House understood he had shewed some inclination to make a Discovery of the Practices and Designs of the Enemies of the Government, and that now he had an opportunity for the same ; and they did require him to make a full and ingenuous Discovery to them ; whereupon Sir *John* returned such Answers, as the honourable House (after being several times call'd in) conceived to be only Excuses ; he was afterwards called in again, and required peremptorily to make such Discovery, which he refusing to do, and being withdrawn,

It was resolved, That the Papers read in the morning, as Sir *John Fenwick's* Informations, reflecting on several noble Peers, divers Members of that House, and others, only by *Hearsay*, were false and scandalous,  
and



and a Contrivance to undermine the Government, and create Jealousies between the King and his Subjects, in order to stifle the real Conspiracy : And hereupon a Bill was resolved on, to be brought in to Attaint Sir *John Fenwick* of High-Treason ; and so he was remanded to *Newgate* ; and soon after, upon his prayer, Council was assigned him, to advise with him ; and being fully heard, to all that could be alledged in his behalf, the Bill, according to the regular proceedings, passed the House, and was carryed up to the Lords for their Concurrence, where all that could be alledged in his behalf being heard with the most deliberate consideration, it likewise passed against him ; and his Majesty coming to the House of Peers on the ---- of *January*, gave the Royal Assent to it, whereby he stood attainted of High-Treason, in compassing, and imagining the death and destruction of his Majesty, and by adhering to his Majesty's Enemies, by consulting and agreeing with several Persons (whereof some have been already attainted, and others not yet brought to their Tryals, for the said Treasons) at several meetings to send *Robert Charnock*, since attainted and executed of High-Treason, in conspiring to Assassinate his Majesty, (whom God long preserve) to the late King *James* in *France*, to incite and encourage the French King to Invade this Kingdom with an armed Force, by promising to join with, and assist him with Men and Arms upon such Invasion, of  
all

all which Treason, he is, by the said Act, declared Guilty; in which also is contained other matters more at large.

His Majesty also signed another Act, to Attaint such Persons concerned in the late horrid Conspiracy to Assassinate his Majesty's Royal Person, as are fled, unless they render themselves to Justice, and for continuing several others of the said Conspirators in Custody, the substance of which is this :

That if Sir G. Berkley, --- Johnson, alias Harrison, --- Du'ant, alias Durance, Michael Hare, Major George Holmes, Phillip Hanford, alias Brown, Richard Richardson, John Maxwell, --- Bayly, --- Pluden, and --- Hungate,\* shall not before the 25 of March, 1697, render themselves to the Lord Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, or to one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State, in order to their Tryals, for the Treason whereof they are accused, they shall stand convicted, and attainted of High-Treason, suffer the pains of death, and incur all Forfeitures, Penalties, and Disabilities as Traytors convicted and attainted of High-Treason.

And whereas Counsellor John Bernard, Robert Meldrum, James Chambers, and Robert Blackbourn, have been committed, and still in Custody in Newgate, for the said Conspiracy and Treason: It is Enacted, That they, and such other Parsons who shall hereafter render themselves, or shall be apprehended,

prehended, and against whom there shall be Evidence upon Oath, of the barbarous and bloody Conspiracy, of the Assassinating the Person of his Sacred Majesty, shall be detained and kept in Custody without Bail or Mainprise, until the first day of *January* 1697, unless they shall be sooner Bailed by order of Council, signed by six of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council.

After these Acts had passed the Royal Assent, Sir *John Fenwick* continuing in *Newgate*, under the attaindure of High-Treason, though some solicitations were not wanting on his behalf for sparing mercy, he at length had notice they were rejected, and that he must prepare for death, having the favour allowed him of an honourable one, *viz.* to be beheaded, at which he seemed much concerned, and accordingly seriously reflected on the little time he had to continue in this World: The first orders being for his Execution on a Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, the 23 of *January*, but upon the humble supplication of his Lady to the House of Peers for longer time, they became Intercessors to his Majesty to respite him till the 28th of the same Month; his Lady and a Minister having free access to him at all seasonable times.

The day of his Execution being come, he prepared himself to go with the Sheriffs, after taking leave of his Lady, and about ten in the morning was, in a mourning Coach, conveyed with a strong Guard of Horse and  
Foot

to *Tower-hill*, when passing through the crowds of the Spectators to the Scaffold, which was hung in mourning, he mounted the steps, and was there attended by three Divines, viz. Doctor *White*, and two others; then he saluted the other Ministers and the Sheriffs, and then kneeling down, the Doctor prayed with him for a time; after which they rose up; and Sir *John Fenwick* pulling a Paper out of his pocket, demanded of the Doctor, if he should say any thing, who replied, He need not, but only deliver his Paper: Then turning to the Sheriff, he said, Mr. Sheriff, *here is a Paper, I desire it may be printed*; whereupon the Sheriff told him, he would acquaint the King with it; and so having deliver'd his Paper, he called his Man, who attended to undress him, which done, so far as was necessary, he call'd for the Executioner, and gave him money in lieu of his Cloaths that still remained on his Body, and then prayed by himself for a short space on his knees, so rising up, he took his leave of Dr. *White* and the other Ministers, as also of the Sheriffs, and desired he might try the Block, which was covered with black Velvet; then upon the Executioner's request to forgive him, he told him he need not ask him forgiveness, for he had freely forgiven all Men, bidding him not strike till he heard him say, *Lord Jesus receive my Soul*; adding, *I may rise, do not strike before that*; then kneeling down, he rose again, and his Man putting his Waistcoat-coller lower, he kneel-

kneeled down again, and after having prayed a while, he uttered the Signal-words, whereupon the Executioner, at one blow, severed his Head from his Body, and held it up to be seen by the Spectators in the usual manner.

His Body being given by his Majesty's Bounty to his Relations, that, with the Head, was put up in a Coffin covered with Velvet, and brought back in a mourning Hearse, in order to its Interment, which was accordingly performed, with moderate decency, a few days after.

As for the Character of this unfortunate Gentleman, I need say little, being of so eminent a Family, that he was known to most Persons, especially of note, in *England*, Marrying a very loving and virtuous Lady, who to the last assisted him all that lay in her power. He had some time been a Colonel of Horse under the late King, and by that chargeable Office, and other means, much impaired his Estate, which, it is supposed, he thought one way or other to have retrieved by this Undertaking, had it succeeded to his wish; however, being precautions and doubtful of the event, it is said, he had made it over, or the greatest part of it, for an annual sum of Money to himself and his Lady, during their lives.

The Paper he delivered at his Execution, as we find 'it printed, take in the following words:

*Speak*

*Speaking nor Writing was never my Talent ; I shall therefore give a very short, but faithful Account : First, Of my Religion ; and next, What I suffer most innocently for, to avoid the Calumnies I may reasonably expect my Enemies will cast upon me when Dead, since they have most falsely and maliciously aspersed me, whilst under my Misfortunes.*

*As for my Religion ; I was brought up in the Church of England, as it is establish'd by Law, and have ever professed it ; tho, I confess, I have been an unworthy Member of it, in not living up to the strict and excellent Rules thereof, for which I take shame to myself, and humbly ask forgiveness of God : I come now to Die in that Communion, trusting, as an humble and hearty Penitent, to be received by the Mercy of God, through the Merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour.*

*My Religion taught me my Loyalty, which, I bless God, is untainted ; and I have ever endeavour'd, in the Station wherein I have been placed, to the utmost of my power, to support the Crown of England, in the true and lineal course of Descent, without interruption.*

*As for what I am now to Die, I call God to witness, I went not to that Meeting in Leaden-Hall-Street with any such intention, as to Invite King James by Force to Invade this Nation ; nor was I myself provided with either Horse or Arms, or engaged for any number of Men, or gave particular consent for any such Invasion, as is most falsely Sworn against me.*



I do also declare, in the presence of God, That I knew nothing of King James his coming to Calais, nor of any Invasion intended from thence, till it was publickly known; and the only Notion I had that something might be attempted, was from the Thoulon Fleet coming to Brest.

I also call God to witness, That I received the knowledge of what is contained in those Papers that I gave to a Great Man that came to me in the Tower, both from Letters and Messages that came from France; and he told me, when I read them to him, that the Prince of Orange had been acquainted with most of those things before.

I might have expected Mercy from that Prince, because I was Instrumental in saving his Life; for when, about April 95, an Attempt formed against him, came to my knowledge, I did partly by Dissuasions, and partly by Delays, prevent that Design; which, I suppose, was the reason that the last Villainous Project was concealed from me.

If there be any Persons whom I have injured in Word or Deed, I heartily pray their Pardon, and beg of God to Pardon those who have injured me; particularly those who with great Zeal have sought my Life, and brought the Guilt of my Innocent Blood upon this Nation, no Treason being prov'd upon me.

I return my most hearty Thanks to those noble and worthy Persons who gave their Assistance, by their opposing this Bill of Attainder; without which, it had been impossible I could have

have fallen under the Sentence of Death: God bless them and their Posterity; tho, I am fully satisfied, they pleaded their own Cause while they defended mine.

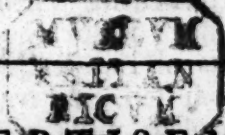
I pray God to bless my True and Lawful Sovereign King James, the Queen, and Prince of Wales, and restore him and his Posterity to his Throne again, for the Peace and Prosperity of this Nation, which is impossible to prosper till the Government is settled upon a right Foot.

And now, O God, I do with all humble Devotion commend my Soul into thy Hands, the great Maker and Preserver of Men, and Lover of Souls; beseeching thee, that it may be always dear and precious in thy sight, through the Merits of my Saviour, Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Thus we see when Man proposes, God disposes of things as he pleases, and disappoints the Contrivances and Purposes of such as design the disturbance of these Kingdoms, which should be a Discouragement to any further Attempts, considering the King and Parliament are so firmly united to quell intestine Attempts, and oppose all Invaders; witness the liberal Supplies they have given this Session, for a vigorous War against France, notwithstanding the Overtures of Peace, and what towards it is in agitation, having well considered that part of his Majesty's Speech, wherein he prudently declares,

clares, *The best way to treat with France, is with the Sword in our Hands: For plenty of Money beng raised, which is the sinews of War ; if the Treaty produce it not, the King will be the better enabled to do himself, and the Confederates Reason and Justice by the power of the Sword.*

F. I. N. I. S.



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